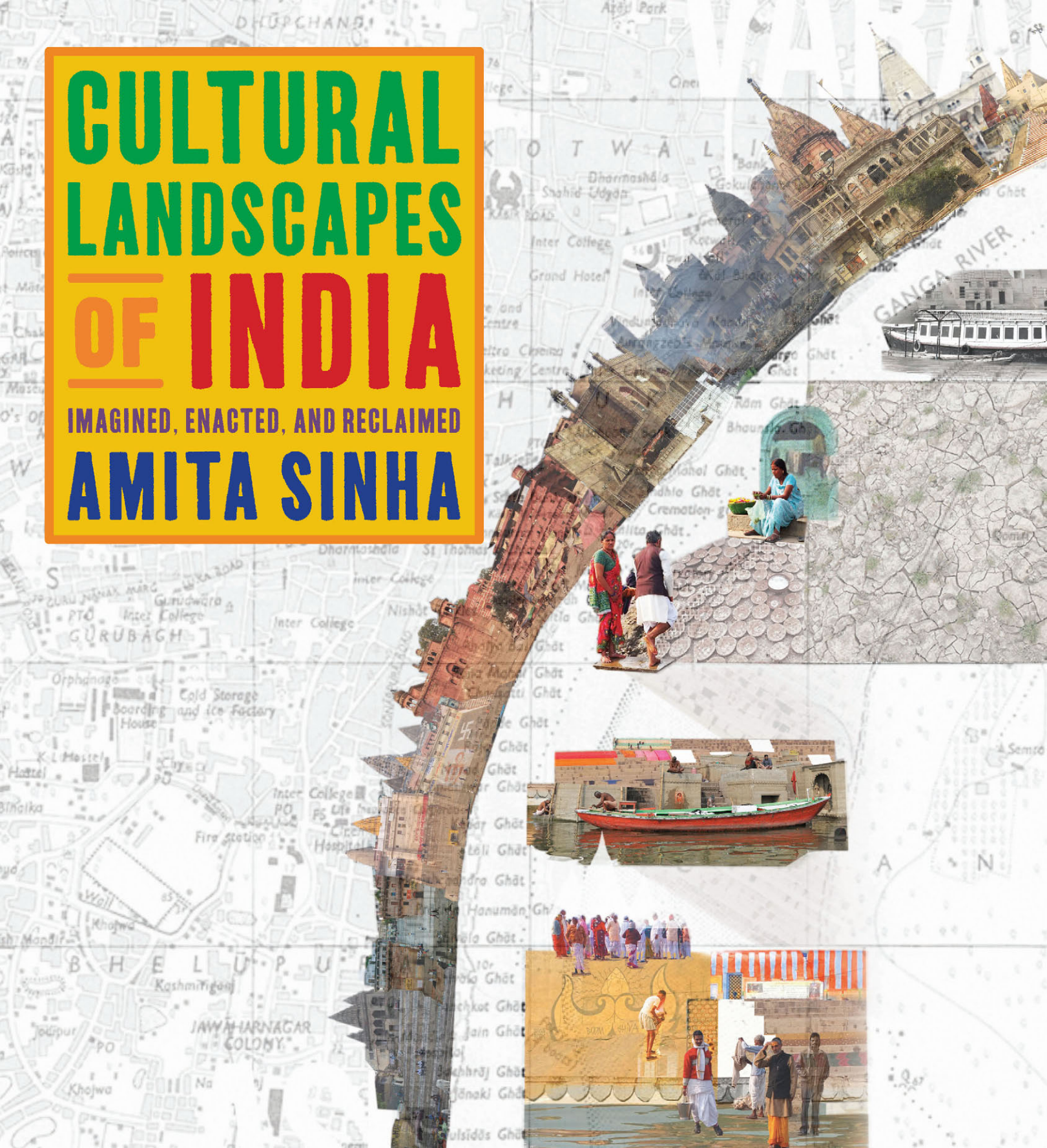
CULTURAL LANDSCAPES OF INDIA

IMAGINED, ENACTED, AND RECLAIMED

AMITA SINHA



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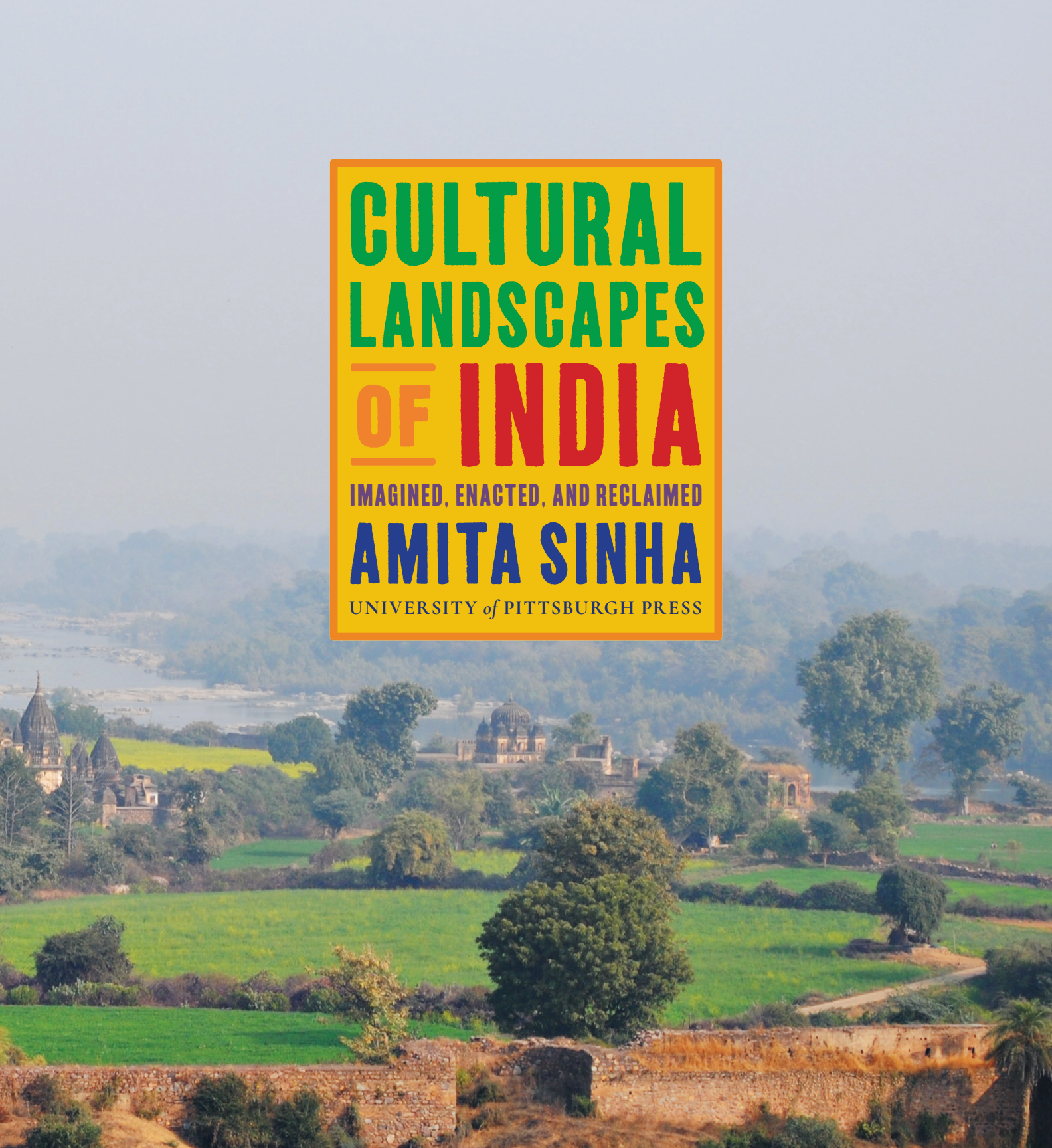
UNIVERSITY of PITTSBURGH PRESS



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CULTURAL LANDSCAPES *of* INDIA

FIGURE I.1. Sites of landscapes imagined, enacted, and reclaimed. Credit: Heena Gajjar

INTRODUCTION

Landscape Heritage

A LONG LINE OF PILGRIMS WINDS ITS WAY through the streets of Ayodhya to visit Ramjanamsthal, the place of Lord Rama's birth. They go single file through multiple checkpoints in a cagelike narrow corridor to glimpse the deities placed in a makeshift structure in the few seconds they have before being hustled forward by the guards. On this contested site, a mosque had stood for 365 years before being demolished in 1992 by a mob to make way for a Hindu temple. The spot where the deities have been installed was left untouched to respect the place's sanctity when the area was excavated by Archaeological Survey of India in 2003 to ascertain whether the mosque was built at the site of a destroyed temple. Hindu devotees see the place in the image of Lord Rama, Muslims claim it as their place of worship, and to the archaeologist the site is an archive of material remains from the past.

The banks of the River Yamuna are imagined by the devout Hindu as a sylvan landscape and the playground of young Krishna, and Yamuna is seen as a beautiful goddess and his lover. As a symbol of purity, the river is the subject and settings for life cycle rituals. Devotees throng the *ghats* (steps and landings) in the pilgrim towns of Mathura and Vrindavan to bathe in her waters and worship her and other gods. About forty kilometers downstream, the Yamuna riverfront was a garden district in Agra, the historic capital of Mughal India in the early seventeenth century. The Mughals viewed the riverfront landscape from their

airy pavilions on the highest terraces of their pleasure gardens and enjoyed it for its scenic views and cool breezes. The Yamuna Riverfront in Mathura and Agra is produced by two different visualities—the Mughal period eye seeking a salubrious view of nature versus a Hindu way of visualizing the divine in nature and landscape.[1]

The hilltop palace-fort Amber, seat of the kingdom of Kacchwaha Rajputs from 1097 to 1727, is on the Aravalli Ridge in Rajasthan, and towers over the town in the valley below. This cultural landscape was shaped by the gaze of surveillance demonstrated in the defensive layout of forts; reverence directed toward the gods and their representative on earth, the king, who resided in the visibly commanding palace; and pleasure in the framing of gardens from palace windows. The hilltop fort, in its opulence, grandeur, and monumental scale, legitimized the power of the ruler. Today as a designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, it is the focus of tourist gaze in search of the picturesque. Visitors perceive it as scenery and staged spectacle with little understanding of how nature was improved to make the site habitable and the meanings it held for the historic communities. Their aesthetic experience is based upon visual edification provided by the scenic and the spectacular.[2] The historic and modern ways of seeing the Amber landscape are two examples of the period eye.

When modern institutions for preserving India's past were first established in the colonial era, antiquarian remains were deemed worthy of preservation, as guided by a romantic sensibility and the eighteenth-century European fascination with the cult of ruins. Indic cultures, in contrast, valued material artifacts for their symbolic meanings and use in everyday life. Ruins, or *khandar*, were seen as waste and had no value. Buildings, particularly those for ritual use, were sentient entities that had to be reconsecrated in *jiirnnoddharana*, a process in which the structure was restored or rebuilt. Colonial preservation efforts were centered on the monument and the excavated site, treated as historic document and archive, and opened to view of the tourist in the archaeological park derived from the English landscape garden. Landscape was a picturesque view for the European colonialist while Indic cultures saw nature and landscape as symbolic of cosmogony and a medium for manifestation of divinity.

The case studies in the book are about cultural landscapes in India as shaped by ways of seeing. They reflect and advance the broader global discourse on the

idea of landscape and heritage. The concept of landscape has evolved from a picturesque view to an embodiment of social, economic, and ideological values.[3] It is everyday places that evolve and transform over time as a result of cultural practices. Image and event are among the many metaphors for interpreting landscape as a cultural and an ecological construct. In seeing it as an image, its symbolic value is dominant. As a situated event, the landscape is a dynamic ecosystem and a sited microculture. Its reading as a palimpsest with relics and fragments that tell the story of the bygone past has expanded to its understanding as a socially constructed active site of memory.[4]

"Cultural landscapes are at the interface between nature and culture, tangible and intangible heritage, biological and cultural diversity; they represent a tightly woven net of relationships that are the essence of culture and people's identity."[5] This definition by Mechtild Rossler prompts me to ask: How do cultural landscapes embody heritage? Heritage in the broadest sense is what is valued from the past, and its practice rests upon individual and collective understandings of what is worthy of being preserved. The evolving meanings of inheritance, its contested and fragmentary nature, and its links with politics of identity are fruitful topics of inquiry.[6] The freezing of time implied in preservation of a historic monument is giving way to conservation as the process of managing temporal change.[7] Heritage is no longer an elitist prerogative but is everyone's patrimony, and its intangible aspects—knowledge, skills, values, and norms—formative in creating tangible expressions, are as important as material culture.[8] The focus on monument in a designated heritage site and art in the museum is widening to include ephemeral performances, placemaking, and popular art. The commodification of heritage tourism is being questioned in a new mode of conservation practice in which heritage is a tool for community development.

In context of changing meanings of landscape (from static view to dynamic ecosystem) and heritage (from material culture to living traditions) I bring to light ways in which cultural landscapes embody heritage in thought and practice in India. Conservation of landscapes should be based upon the premise that in reclaiming a cultural landscape, a way of seeing and enacting is also reclaimed. This would be cultural heritage conserved in placemaking in which the landscape is the subject and setting for constructing and enacting collective memory. The complex and subtle links between material and intangible heritage can be thus

preserved. I draw upon scholarship in history, culture, and landscape studies and my own fieldwork in outlining the following themes—imagining, remembering, enacting, perfecting, and improving nature, and reclaiming places—for reconceptualizing the current discourse on landscapes and heritage. Changing paradigms in scholarship have created a space for finding the overlap between myth and history in construction of collective memory, and in making the transition from milieu to sites of memory. The Indic mode of remembering the past relies on oral narrative traditions, not on reconstruction of the past from material evidence. Myths and legends are place based and relived in landscape experiences, thus bringing the past in the present.

In Part I of this book I compare myths and history of sacred sites in pilgrim cities of Dwarka and Ayodhya as two ways of seeing the landscape. The image of the sacred, believed to spontaneously appear in nature, is a numinous vision, enthralling and majestic. The view of landscape as an archive, on the other hand, demands objective and systematic scrutiny to create a factual record of the past. Part II interprets the imagined landscapes of Govardhan Hill in Braj and the urban structure of medieval Orchha as constituted by mandalas (symbols of the entire universe) and yantras (triangles formed by visual axes). It traces the changing image through time of the Taj Mahal in Agra to reveal the impact of cultural visuality on perception. The archetypal image is reified in the cultural landscape, acquiring substance in material form. The imagined in the landscape or the landscape imagined is not a mere visual or visionary experience but also a somatic one. Part III describes how the Hindu faithful pay obeisance to the sacred landscape in *darshan* (ritual sighting), bathing in the holy rivers, and circumambulating the *kshetra* (region). The landscape is inscribed in their bodies through these ritual enactments and is experienced in time as a situated event, its structure changing as space is generated in movement. Reenacting myths and mimicking the actions of gods and legendary heroes creates spatial memory in the individual and reconstructs collective memory.

Ways of seeing impact the making of cultural landscape by improving and perfecting nature. Part IV describes the medieval hill fortresses and water systems on the Aravalli hill range spanning three states in India. Here physical properties of nature, not symbolic attributes, were keenly observed and exploited to create defensible built environments in harsh terrain and inhospitable

climate. These historic landscapes exemplify traditional wisdom in improving nature for human habitation by working with natural processes and augmenting natural forms. The archetypal image of paradise as a garden was realized in late medieval Indo-Islamic riverfront landscapes. Landscape was a distant framed view, an appealing composition of form and color. Nature was perfected in the image of an aesthetic ideal—the geometric four-square garden form of *charbagh* exemplifying order in symmetry and harmony of proportions. Part V describes how the earthly paradise garden became more of an expression of imperial power and less of divine providence. The loss of imperial power and disappearance of court rituals was accompanied by transformation of its image as a new set of social, political, and economic realities came into existence. The colonial garden derived from the English landscape garden supplanted the royal walled garden. It was a pastoral landscape shaped in the Edenesque image, reflecting a romantic view of nature unlike the transcendental view that inspired the ancient garden grove visualized in medieval illustrated manuscripts.

Museums and memorial parks are part of the ongoing construction and consolidation of national identity. Part VI describes the sites of memory of Rani Lakshmi Bai, who played a pivotal role in the 1857 uprising, considered to be the First War of Independence. Their iconographic program consisting of statuary and dioramas represents the legendary figure of the Rani. However, only a lone portrait exists of Begum Hazrat Mahal, the other heroine of the uprising; her absence in the public realm is poignant, a reminder of the significance of visual culture in the construction of collective memory. The Dalit politician Mayawati built many memorials to herself, other Dalit leaders, and social reformers when she came into power as a chief minister of Uttar Pradesh in independent India. She has sought to reclaim long-suppressed memories of contribution of oppressed caste groups in the national imaginary by visualizing the figure of the subaltern in public spaces.

Loss of royal patronage and community stewardship, pressures of a growing local population and domestic tourism, and significant resource constraints have led to a breakdown of self-organized systems that preserved heritage in the past. The retrieval of the lost landscape knowledge of premodern communities presents a challenge. Contested sites demonstrate different visualities and spatial practices and present the dilemma regarding which image and whose traditions

should be reclaimed. When traditional spatial practices themselves contribute to environmental distress by generating pollution, doubts begin to appear about the very nature of heritage. These conundrums open the space for negotiating conflict by reconciling alternative visualities, recovering traditional wisdom, and changing unhealthy cultural practices. I conclude that the future lies in sustainable planning and design measures that respect site history and genius loci, accommodate deeply rooted cultural practices, and build environmental capital by using local resources and energy. The environmental ethic demonstrated in traditional practices of nature veneration can be practiced in a sustainable approach to heritage conservation and reduce pollution of rivers, promote reforestation of hills, and address climate change in twenty-first-century India.

PART I

Myth and History

> For a culture still nurtured in mythology the landscape, as well as every phase of human existence, is made alive with symbolical suggestion. The hills and groves have their supernatural protectors and are associated with popularly known episodes in the local history of the creation of the world. Here and there, furthermore, are special shrines. Wherever a hero has been born, has wrought, or has passed back into the void, the place is marked and sanctified. A temple is erected there to signify and inspire the miracle of perfect centeredness; for this is the place of the breakthrough into abundance. Someone at this point discovered eternity.
>
> **—Joseph Campbell**

Indian history has been the subject of much contentious debate revolving around the search for indigenous origins of ancient Indo-Aryan culture, and reinterpretation of myths as history. In the politicized climate of ideologically driven assertions and counterassertions, archaeological remains become important for unveiling the ancient past and writing history.[1] Historic buildings and archaeological sites are perhaps the most significant components of material culture that are clues for solving historical puzzles in absence of textual evidence. Since history is interpretation of the past from the perspective of the present, postcolonial times demand a critical stance.

The historiography of Indian architecture reveals biases in acquisition of knowledge in the writing of architectural history by Indologists.[2] Architectural history as James Fergusson wrote it celebrated the monument as a picturesque view but failed to understand its meaning. His book *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* has had widespread and long-lasting influence because of its sweeping survey and classification system that appeared to be objective and in the scientific spirit. It was sustained on two grand myths that governed Indology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—myth of origin and, related to that, myth of degeneration. For the colonialist, the myth of common racial origins of Europeans and Indians was problematic in its implied similarity between the two races. This was unpalatable to colonial ideology, which needed to justify colonial rule on the basis of European supremacy in all spheres—religious, cultural, economic, technological, and racial. The acceptance of one myth necessitated the rise of another—that of racial degeneration caused by miscegenation and climate. It was fed by evolutionary theory that posited the continued social progress of European societies but the stagnation of Asian ones.

In the creative leap from compilation to classification, Fergusson betrayed the Victorian mindset dominated by the myth of racial degeneration and belief in ethnology as a clue to understanding art and architecture.[3] His major stylistic divisions of Hindu architecture were based on his racial interpretation of Indian history that began with the arrival of Sanskrit-speaking Aryans in the upper Indus valley and their degeneration caused by mixing with Dravidians who had their seat in the extreme south and Dasyus, the aboriginal race, worshippers of trees and serpents, who had once occupied the whole valley of the Ganges. In this narrative, their integration into the Aryan society caused its deterioration in the spheres of art and religion, giving rise to idolatry and temple building.

While it is easy to be critical of Fergusson in hindsight and in the midst of widely accepted relativism in aesthetic taste, there are lessons to be drawn, the most important being that styles should be not be explicated on the basis of outward appearances. The "innocent eye" can deceive, inasmuch as perception is an act of cognition, open to cultural conditioning. Had Fergusson relied on ethnographic rather than ethnologic evidence, he might have been closer to understanding that Hindu temples are embodiment of sacred energies of landscape and are symbolic of natural forms. The superstructure of the Hindu temple is

modeled after Mount Meru, the mythic mountain at the center of the world; its core, the *garbha griha* (womb house), mimics the cave, its pillars are symbols of trees, and its water tanks of rivers.[4] Fergusson's classification remained unchallenged until the second decade of the twentieth century, when E. B. Havell, Ananda Coomaraswamy, and A. L. Basham, in their writings, viewed Indian art and architecture in a much more favorable light.[5] Stella Kramrisch's publication in 1946 finally solved the puzzle of the Hindu temple and laid grounds for later studies of temple architecture.[6]

The history of Indian landscapes is yet to be written. An important source is the rich corpus of myths. The landscape of myth is archetypal in that it is not a specific place but one whose attributes are of universal significance, an example being a numinous site of hierophany charged with energy, and a medium for recurring manifestation of divine imagery. In the mythic worldview the landscape is shaped in archetypal images and formed as temporal events. Natural features—majestic mountains, beautiful trees, and magnificent rivers—are symbols of the divine, which is also revealed in human form. In rituals that evoke and venerate the sacred, the landscape is created anew. The experience of time is tied to celebrating the rhythms of nature and the moment of cosmic creation. In this way the past is ever related to and reproduced in the present.

History is *ithihasa* in Sanskrit, meaning "so indeed it was."[7] The great epics, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, and the eighteen *puranas* (literally, "ancient"; the term covers narratives of cosmogony, cosmology, genealogies, and eulogies to gods and goddesses) are considered to be ithihasa. *Sthala puranas* are place-based narratives enumerating sacred sites and rituals and therefore widely consulted in pilgrimage. The great epics narrate events in the Treta Yuga and Dvapar Yuga—two epochs of the fourfold cycle of time known as *mahayuga*—illustrating the Hindu concept of time as a ceaselessly turning wheel. Their exact dates are uncertain, likely the sixth to eighth centuries BCE, while the puranas were written between 250 and 1000 CE. Ithihasa is considered to be *smriti* in Sanskrit, meaning "that which is remembered," and in keeping with the oral traditions, transmitted verbally across generations even as it was rewritten by multiple authors at different points in time.[8] The many versions made for fluid texts, although these were no less influential. The mythopoetic character of ithihasa prioritizes lived experience and meaning over facts and chronology.[9] In this mode of seeing the

past, "every place has its story, and conversely every story in the vast storehouse of myth and legend has its place."[10]

The landscape is a site of encounter with the divine and a place for rituals that carry profound meanings about one's place in this and the next world. From a historian's perspective, the landscape is a palimpsest containing relics that can be excavated and dated to piece together the historic narrative. Myth and history agree on the landscape as a site of cultural memory but differ in conceptions of time and space represented in the narrative. Chronological history, an objective account of actors and events, has a fixed point of beginning against which all that is subsequent is measured. The usual division into protohistoric, historic, medieval, colonial, and postcolonial in Indian history describes the linear progression of time. This arrow of time linking past, present, and future presupposes no return to origin, unlike mythic time that is forever looping back in an endlessly recurring cycle and where the past is relived in the present.[11] The landscape is treated by the archaeologist-historian as an archive to be mined for deciphering the age of artifacts and their possible uses in times gone by. Relics as fragments of complete structures are pieced together and interpreted to tell the story of the past never to return. Cyclical time and sacred space are characteristic of myth, while history, an objective account of the past, is about linear time conveyed in landscape strata.

Myth and history are stories that differ in their claims to reality. Historians, in their quest for objectivity, rely on material evidence—archives and relics—to construct the past, while myths are collective memories in which the past is remembered in archetypal events involving gods, humans, animals, and other creatures. The historical narrative too is constructed with generic plot structures that shape how facts tell a story.[12] Myths are a mirror for seeing the present and understanding its structure as well as predicting the future. Munz calls the myth a concrete universal in that it is about universal patterns of human life communicated in a composite story, though not a narration of specific events that can be precisely located in time and place.[13] To prove the veracity of myth is futile, since myth's relevance lies in its explanatory power of human emotions and actions. History and myth are not contradictory—true versus false—but different modes of representing the past.

The process of distending myth into history consists of locating mythic events

in space and time to create a factual account.[14] The subtext of these endeavors is the quest for empirical basis of cultural memories and proof that they are not entirely works of imagination. Archaeology as a scientific discipline can be instrumental in constructing history from buried traces, but the translation of myth into history is fraught with uncertainties and never conclusive. Myth is sought to be converted into history in India today through archaeological research and hero-gods transformed into historical figures. An alternative to reckoning with the past would be to reconcile myth and history by considering them as complementary genres for illuminating the past.

Stories of Vishnu's *avatars* (incarnation in human form), Rama and Krishna, the heroes of epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, are part of the collective consciousness of Hindus. They are believed to have been born in the Treta Yuga and Dvapar Yuga, respectively. Places where their births, deaths, and events in their lives occurred are considered sacred and venerated. They are sites of cultural memories, places lost and reclaimed repeatedly. Attempts to definitively prove their historicity through numismatic, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence, however, turn out to be futile, as seen in archaeological research in Dwarka and Ayodhya, capitals of the earthly kingdoms of Krishna and Rama, respectively. It appears that the mysteries of divine revelation based on faith cannot be fully unveiled through scientific scrutiny but only understood through sympathetic imagination.

CHAPTER 1

Contested Site

AYODHYA, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF KOSHALA KINGDOM and now a pilgrim town, has been the center of controversy with mounting political agitation since the 1980s to reclaim Ramjanmabhoomi—land of Rama's birth. It is believed that the exact place of Rama's birth was consecrated by the repeated building of temples over time, and the last structure was allegedly demolished for the construction of a mosque, known as Babri Masjid, in 1528 by the Mughal emperor Babur. Ayodhya became the cynosure of national attention, after the Masjid was destroyed on December 6, 1992, by a Hindu mob and worship of Rama deity installed at the site became increasingly popular. The events preceding and following the destruction, including litigation over the disputed site, have brought to the fore different and conflicting understandings of space and time in mythic and historic ways of seeing the past. They have also brought into focus the significance of the cultural landscape as a site of collective memory and claims of two religions—Hindu and Islam—on this site, based upon differing concepts of placemaking and understanding of sacred space.

Ayodhya is believed to have been founded by Manu, the progenitor of mankind, and was ruled by the Ikshvaku clan, thus placing the city at the beginning of time. Its most famous king was Rama, whose divinity was revealed when he conquered demons and set a model for ethical behavior by his righteous conduct. Known as *maryada purshottam*, upholder of moral laws and exemplary behavior,

he inspired generations of Hindu rulers and their subjects. As a onetime *avatar* of Vishnu in the Treta Yuga, he was born in Ayodhya, returned to the city after a fourteen-year exile in the forest, ruled over its populace, and ended his earthly abode by entering the holy river Saryu. But he is ever-present in Ayodhya, and the landscape is the medium for his recurring manifestation in symbolic forms. Of the many sacred sites, the Ramjanmabhoomi is the prime site of hierophany, of his appearance as *svayambhu* deity that is created on its own accord.

Myths preserve collective memory, and also its fallibility, in the tradition of Ayodhya being lost and reclaimed time and again. Rama's earthly departure along with citizens of Ayodhya caused the first abandonment until his son Kush returns to restore the city, as narrated by the fifth-century poet Kalidasa in his epic Sanskrit poem *Raghuvamsa*. Vikramaditya, king of Ujjain, rebuilt the city again with 360 temples around two thousand years ago, presumably following another period of dereliction. The myth of loss and retrieval becomes a historical fact when the Gupta kings in the fifth century reclaimed Ayodhya by shifting their capital from Pataliputra to Saket. The flourishing market town of Saket, at the junction of north-south and east-west trade routes, was well known to Buddhists and Jains during the Mauryan period, with stories of the Buddha and Mahavira having meditated in its gardens. Saket enters the pages of history as Ayodhya when the Gupta kings became devotees of Vishnu, built temples in their new capital, Ayodhya, and issued copper coins in which Skandagupta assumed the title of Vikramaditya. Ayodhya appears to have lost its prominence for a few centuries until the rise of Gahadvalas in the eleventh century, when temples were built again including one at Ramjanmabhoomi. Chandradeva, the first Gahadvala king, visited Ayodhya as a pilgrim in 1093 and bathed in the Swargadvara *tirtha* (holy water tank) in the River Saryu, as mentioned in copper plates—inscriptions recording royal seals and land grants in South Asia. The landscape was reclaimed time and again and imprinted with Rama legends—the process of reification gathering force when Hindu kingdoms faced invasions by Huns and Turks.[1]

Worship of Vishnu-Rama continued unabated for the next eight hundred years although no longer in temples whose demolition began when Ayodhya became the target of Islamic iconoclasm beginning with Salar Masud's invasion in 1034 followed by that of Muhammad Ghori in 1198. Ayodhya became part of the Islamic Sultanate in 1226, then was ruled by the Sharqis after 1394 and then by

the Lodhis from 1479 to 1526.[2] Babur had a mosque built at Ramjanmabhoomi in 1528 at the instigation of a local Muslim *pir* (holy person)—Fazl Abbas Musa Ashikan—and appointed Mir Baqi Tashqandi the first Mughal governor of the province of Avadh, with Ayodhya as its capital. Another round of temple demolition occurred in the seventeenth century when Babur's descendant, the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, built two mosques in the Swargadvara tirtha on the Saryu riverfront, where Vishnu shrines built by the Gahadvala kings had stood. In the absence of temples, veneration rituals continued on the riverfront tirthas and *kund*s (water tanks) in the city, including worship at Ramjanmabhoomi, as attested by European travelers William Finch (1608–1611) and Joseph Tieffenthaler (1766–1771). Ramnaomi festival, celebrating the anniversary of Rama's birth, attracted a large number of pilgrims who bathed and performed rites at various sacred sites described in the Sanskrit text *Agastya Samhita*, written around the twelfth century, and *Ayodhya Mahatmya*, a compilation of oral traditions composed over seven hundred years beginning in the tenth century.[3]

In the eighteenth century temples begin to be built at Swargadvar and Hanumangarhi by the Hindu ministers of Nawabs of Avadh, who shifted their capital from Ayodhya to the nearby Faizabad and later to Lucknow. Kanak Bhavan, the palace of Rama and Sita, was built by the queen of Orchha, Vrishbhan Kunwari, in 1891 and a new Janmasthan temple was built north of Babri Masjid. New institutions—*chavani*s (military encampments), *math*s (monasteries), and sectarian temples—of the Ramanandi sect began to flourish, receiving patronage from rulers of small Hindu kingdoms and later by rich merchants and traders.[4] The presence of Rama Chabutra and Sita Rasoi in the outer courtyard of Babri Masjid in the late nineteenth century attested to Hindu attempts to reclaim Ramjanmabhoomi, which intensified in the mid-nineteenth century when colonial rule began and the reign of the Nawabs ended.[5] Only Friday prayers could be offered intermittently beginning in 1860. One of the domes of Babri Masjid was damaged by Hindu ascetics in 1934 and on December 23, 1949, a group of devotees broke into the mosque and placed the Rama deity below the main dome.

The reclamation of Ramjanmabhoomi was taken up in earnest in 1984 by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, a wing of the Sangh Parivar, which is a collection of Hindu nationalist organizations and includes the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), currently in power in India. A new Janmasthan temple was designed according

to the traditional canon; Hindu communities throughout the country were asked to contribute consecrated bricks for its building and its foundation stone was laid in the *shilanayas* ceremony on November 9, 1989. In 1990 the BJP leader Ramkrishna Advani undertook a *rath yatra* (chariot journey) from Somnath to Ayodhya with the aim of galvanizing public support for building the new temple but was arrested before he could reach Ayodhya. The procession brought in its wake civic unrest, the downfall of the central coalition government when BJP withdrew its support, and further mobilization toward the cause of building a Hindu temple on the contested site. On December 6, 1992, a crowd of 150,000 people gathered in Ayodhya and 150 *kar-sevak*s (those doing holy service) destroyed Babri Masjid with mattocks, axes, and rods. Two thousand lives were lost in communal riots across the country. On July 6, 2005, a group with allegiance to Lashkar-e-toiba, a terrorist organization based in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, opened fire at the security force guarding Ramjanmabhoomi; in the ensuing gun battle all six terrorists were killed.[6]

The contested site of Ramjanmabhoomi is a flashpoint for communal conflict. Arguments for rebuilding the temple on this site rest on the faith-based premise that this is the actual birthplace of Rama and devotees should be able to commemorate the site and his descent on earth without restrictions. Opponents to this claim point out that the mosque was state property and its destruction proved the state's failure in protecting it. They argue that the mosque should be rebuilt at the same spot for the state to reclaim its role as the primary custodian of heritage and for the Muslim community in Ayodhya to have a place to worship. Legitimacy of ownership needed to be established by proof of the original occupancy of the site. Was Babri Masjid built over a demolished Hindu temple? Empirical evidence—archaeological relics—on the basis of which an historical account of the site occupation can be constructed would answer the question. Myth and oral traditions of memory keeping took a back seat in the way the dispute was sought to be resolved.

Ramkot, the area covered by the ancient fortress of Rama, excavated by A. K. Narain in 1969–1970 and B. B. Lal in 1975–1976, showed the presence of black polished ware indicating an urban settlement dating back to the end of the sixth or first half of the fifth century BCE.[7] Excavations in June 1992 in the 2.77 acres of land leveled after the demolition of Babri Masjid unearthed forty sculptural and

architectural remnants, including a stone inscription that was part of the Masjid wall. The inscription in Nagari script recorded the building of Vishnu Hari temple in Ayodhya in Saket Mandala by Meghasuta, a vassal of Govindchandra, the Gahadvala ruler. Fourteen black stone pillars with carvings indicating a style datable to the eleventh century CE were used as spolia in Babri Masjid.

Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) undertook further archaeological excavations in March 2003 by digging ninety trenches in and around the area of the demolished mosque as directed by the Lucknow Bench of Allahabad High Court. The excavations revealed seven strata, the earliest dating back to the first millennium BCE. Stone and brick construction were evident in the Shunga (2nd–1st centuries BCE) and Kushan (1st–3rd centuries CE) periods (strata II and III), and terracotta figurines and copper coins with *garuda* images and Chandragupta legends from the fourth period of the Guptas (4th–6th centuries CE) were found. The fifth period (7th–10th centuries CE) was indicated by a circular brick shrine with a water chute; the sixth (11th–12th centuries CE) by a fifty-meter wall; and the seventh (12th–16th centuries CE) by another massive structure, fifty meters by thirty meters, likely a pillared hall or two halls with fifty pillar bases in seventeen rows over which Babri Masjid was constructed.[8] A fifty-square-foot spot below the destroyed central dome of the mosque where the Rama deity is installed was left unexcavated.

The place of Rama's birth is a site of hierophany where Vishnu took avatar in the human form in the Treta Yuga. Its sacred energy is embodied in the *svayambhu* deity that with the ritual of *pran pratishta* (establishing breath) is believed to be a living entity, to be worshipped with reverence and devotion. The place as deity not only has great powers but is also a juridical entity, as recognized by Indian courts since colonial times. The deity is considered to be a minor whose interests can be represented in lawsuits over the disputed site. The Allahabad High Court in its 2010 judgment recognized the claims of the place deity—Rama *lalla virajman* (child Rama seated)—at the same time acknowledging that the Sunni Waqf Board, representing the Muslims' right to worship, is legally entitled to one-third of the site. The remaining third was awarded to Nirmohi Akhara, a Hindu organization, who claimed the now destroyed sites of Rama Chabutra and Sita Rasoi in the outer courtyard of the demolished mosque. Archaeological evidence of an earlier templelike structure predating the mosque was acknowledged in the

judgment. The verdict was appealed by both parties and the final judgment was given by the Supreme Court of India on November 9, 2019, in favor of building the Ramjanmabhoomi temple at the disputed site. The court said that Muslim parties, including the Sunni Waqf Board, failed to establish exclusive possession since Hindus had worshipped Rama inside the mosque since 1856–1857. Moreover, archaeological evidence showed that Babri Masjid was constructed above the remains of an "un-Islamic" structure. The court ruled that the demolition of Babri Masjid in 1992 and its prior desecration in 1934 and 1949 violated the secular law of the country and ordered that an alternative five acres of land be given to the Sunni Waqf Board for building a new mosque.[9]

The Allahabad High Court and Supreme Court of India appeared to be drawing upon both myth and history in adjudicating the case. In this way of seeing, Ayodhya is a representational space—of Rama's birth and his continuing presence invoked through rituals—and a space of representation—an archive of material artifacts that establish a chronology of site occupation. Time is experienced as both mythic and historical, circular as in looping back to Rama's earthly reign and linear as in sequence of human efforts to build monuments at Ramjanmabhoomi. The folding of sacred time into secular time occurs in the multiple ways of appropriating the place. There is a blurring of boundaries between past and present in the experience of ritual or cyclical time, unlike their clear distinction in historical or linear time.[10] The two ways of perceiving time are not seen as oppositional in the court judgment in the effort to reconcile myth and history at the contested site.

The claims on Ramjanmabhoomi for rebuilding the temple or the mosque should be examined in the context of beliefs about sacred spaces in Hinduism and Islam. For Hindus Ramjanmabhoomi is *axis mundi*, revealed to the devotee, where the transcendent is made immanent in the place deity. One of three holiest places in Hinduism (other two are Mathura, the birthplace of Krishna, and Varanasi, Shiva's abode), it holds extraordinary significance to believers. Ayodhya remains unique as the birthplace of Rama in the pluralistic Hindu universe, characterized by spatial transposition and duplication of centers.[11] Babri Masjid, too, was a sacred space, but defined by the prayer rituals of the faithful, not by revelation of the divine. It oriented the community of believers toward the house of God in Mecca, the center of the Islamic world. In Islam the place for

the rebuilding of the mosque does not have to be a site of revelation, but one that is appropriate in its architectural form and spatial layout for the community of faithful to gather.[12] The Muslim claim to Ramjanmabhoomi rests on the existence of the mosque for 364 years at this place; the building as a house of worship is important, not any inherent attribute of site itself. This perspective opens the door for dialogue on alternative sites for rebuilding the mosque as a means of resolution to the seemingly unending and unresolvable conflict.

New sites of memories sponsored by the state—museum, art gallery, and amphitheater—are making their appearance in Ayodhya. They combine artifact display with narrative imagery and performances. In building these the state government is combining traditional and modern systems of representing the past. Ram Katha Museum, for example, built in 1986, displays huge dioramas depicting *Ramayana* vignettes in its atrium, and has galleries displaying archaeological artifacts from ASI excavations, sculptures, paintings, and models of scenes from southeast Asian *Ramayana* stories. The Rama Katha Park adjoining the museum is a huge amphitheater built in 1997 for large gatherings such as Rama-Sita marriage festival and *ramlila* (enactment of *Ramayana* episodes) performances. It was a venue for a large spectacle in October 2017 when a blue helicopter as the mythological *pushpak viman* carrying actors impersonating Rama, Sita, and Lakshman descended on its grounds. *Ramlila* is enacted daily in Tulasi Smarak Bhavan, a research center with a collection of manuscripts and art objects.

The cultural landscape—bodies of water, hillocks, the Saryu riverfront—has been the primary receptacle of the Rama legend, and temples and shrines make visible his presence in built form. Public attention in the last quarter of a century has been focused on Ramjanmabhoomi, but this site of conflict and contestation should be contextualized in the sacred geography of Ayodhya. Nearly 1.9 million pilgrims visited Ayodhya in 2016 and their number increased threefold, from 504,054 to 1,571,391, between 2003 and 2014. The image of Ayodhya is that of a city of temples and sadhus—there are as many as 1,035 temples to Rama alone.[13] Presently seven to eight thousand pilgrims visit Ramjanmabhoomi daily for *darshan* (ritual sighting) of Rama Lalla, his three brothers, and Hanuman through a tortuous cagelike route with three checkpoints. It is likely the most visited site in Ayodhya, although Hanumangarhi, Nageshwar Temple, Kanak Mahal, and *ghat*s on the Saryu riverfront are very popular among the pilgrims.

FIGURE 1.1. Wall painting in Tulasi Smarak Bhavan, Ayodhya. Credit: Amita Sinha.

▷ FIGURE 1.2. Saryu riverfront in Ayodhya. Credit: Amita Sinha.

FIGURE 1.3. Pilgrims walking toward Ramjanmabhoomi, Ayodhya. Credit: Amita Sinha.

Place myths are cultural memories anchored on sites and enacted by invented traditions. Pilgrims hold Saryu in high regard, claiming that the sage Vashisth's penance was instrumental in bringing the river that had emerged from Vishnu's eyes to earth and became the womb of Ayodhya city built in the shape of a fish. Rama bathed in the river and offered prayers, and so pilgrims must first take a dip in its holy waters before going to the temples. The festival of *savan jhula* is held at Mani Parvat, associated with Rama and Sita's playful and leisurely pursuits. Pilgrims doing the *panchkroshi parikrama* (circumambulation around Ayodhya) trace the steps of Rama, Sita, and Lakshman, who left for their exile to the forest taking this path. Rama took this path as well when he left his earthly abode at Guptar Ghat on Saryu. Pilgrims visit Hanumangarhi to worship Hanuman, who became Ayodhya's custodian and its king upon Rama's departure.[14] This living heritage, a testimony to the continuity of the past in the present, is far more powerful than mute relics of bygone eras.

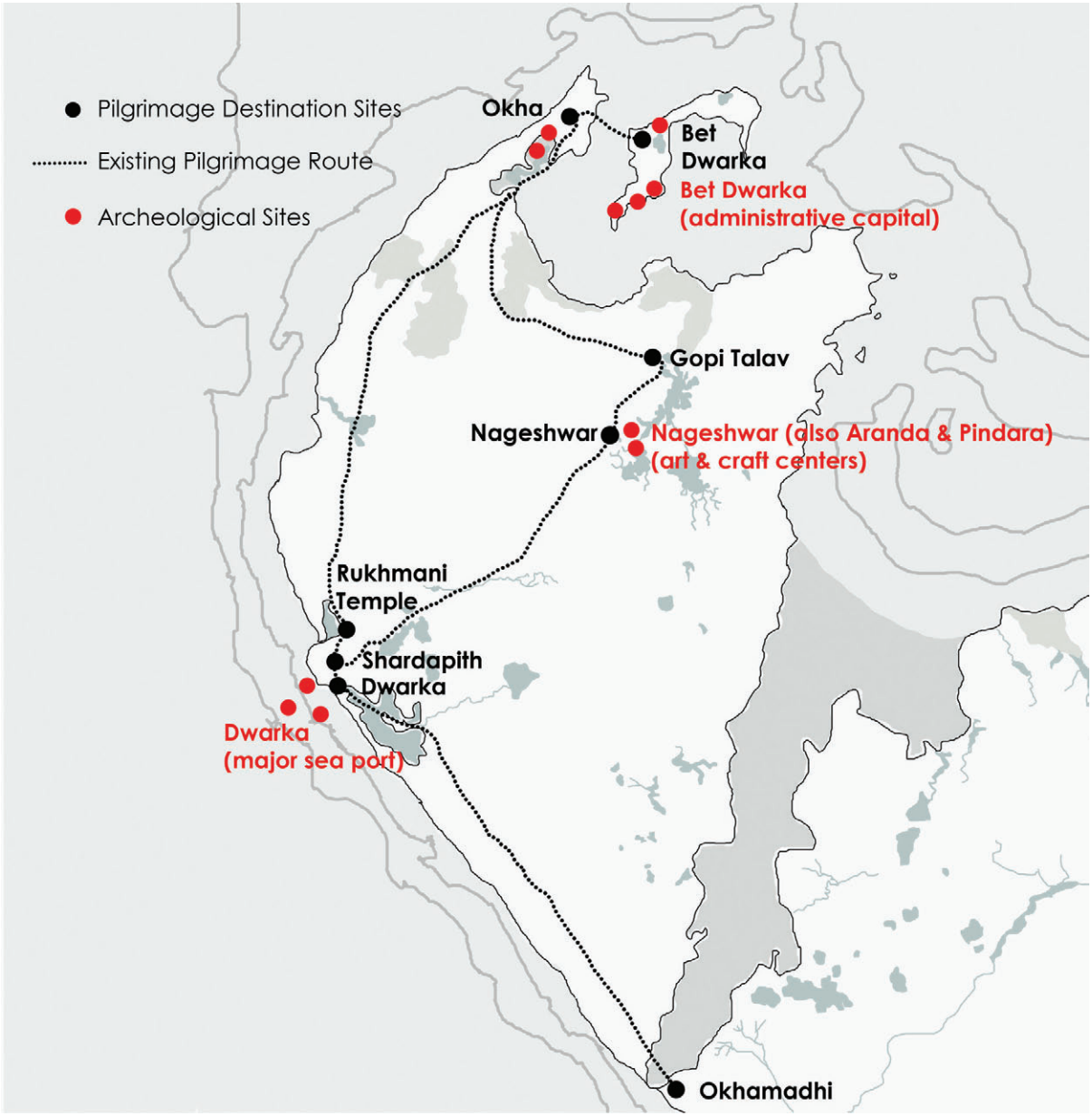


FIGURE 2.1. Archaeological and pilgrim sites in Okhamandal, Gujarat. Credit: Heena Gajjar.

CHAPTER 2

Lost City

The fabled city of Dwarka, like the myth of Atlantis, has captured the Hindu imagination for centuries. It was a fabulous *svarna nagri* (golden city), also known as Dvaravati, "the door to eternal bliss." The shining city rose from the sea, designed by the divine architect Viswakarma, and rivaled the heavenly Amaravati in its splendor. The land on which it was built was wrested from the sea by Krishna, the incarnation Vishnu had taken to destroy evil and restore the moral order in Dvapar Yuga.[1] Dwarka is mentioned in a number of medieval texts—*Vishnu*, *Bhagwata*, and *Matsya puranas*. In *Harivamsa*, epilogue to *Mahabharata*, Dwarka is described as a *varidurga*, a fortress in water, and *dronimukha*, a port at the confluence of a river and sea. It was naturally protected by hills and sea on three sides and fortified by a wall with four gateways. It was divided into eight sectors by broad streets lined with magnificent marble palaces according to the principles of *shilpa shastra*.[2]

Promontories at the confluence of rivers and of river and sea signify land emerging from the cosmic ocean at the beginning of time. The archetypal image of the world pillar fixing the primordial mound floating in the cosmic ocean represents the paradigmatic act of cosmogony.[3] Temple spires at promontories on the coastal edge in Dwarka are modeled on this image and symbolically mark the emergence of land from the watery chaos. In circumambulating Dwarka today, pilgrims reaffirm the sacred emergence of land and demarcate it with their

movement.[4] According to legend, Dwarka's most celebrated temple dedicated to Krishna as Dwarkadhish was first built by Krishna's grandson, Vrajnabh, ruling in Mathura, at the confluence of the River Gomti and the sea. Fifty-six steps from the temple lead down to the Gomti, where pilgrims bathe, worship, and perform rituals.

Dwarka's destruction by the sea is attributed to the community's decline into decadence and infighting. Krishna himself was killed by a hunter who mistook him for a deer at the coastal settlement of Prabhas (modern Somnath) after his kinsmen fought each other to death. A huge tidal wave rose from the sea and swallowed Dwarka.[5] With that, the Dvapar Yuga, the third epoch in the Hindu cycle of creation and destruction of the universe, ended and the fourth, the present age of Kali Yug, began. Legend has it that Dwarka was destroyed and rebuilt seven times, each instance of building mimetic of Krishna's establishment of the archetypal golden city and every destruction a replay of the original cataclysmic event. Each occasion of rebuilding is a commemoration of the original act and its creative force.

Dwarka's destruction by the sea marking the end of an epoch and beginning of another is symbolic of the Hindu belief in eternal cycle of time and its manifestation in space. in this worldview time is cyclical and begins anew when the universe is created following its dissolution. The memory of genesis (*shrashti*) and apocalypse (*pralaya*) is preserved in the coded language of myth.[6] The divine hero Krishna is instrumental in building a perfect city but is helpless in preventing his community from committing moral transgressions that hasten its end. The city as a seat of *avatar*, like the Vedic altar of sacrifice, must be built and destroyed and rebuilt.[7] Mythic Dwarka is the archetypal "golden city," built on land wrested out of the sea by Krishna, and a testament to his divine power over natural forces. Krishna in his human incarnation is superior to Varun, the god of sea, and Agni, god of fire, whose temples line the seashore along with Dwarkadhish Temple in present-day Dwarka. Yet nature wins, and the sea swallows the beautiful and perfect city. In a fable similar to that of the lapse of humans and their exile from the Garden of Eden, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah in Judeo-Christian belief, the moral transgressions of the residents are blamed for the tragedy. The quest for utopian Dwarka inspires the rebuilding of the temple city in every epoch brought forth by ceaseless turning of the wheel of time.

Dwarka's recovery in face of catastrophes is a remarkable testimony to its cultural resilience. Today the pilgrim city of Dwarka (and other sacred sites on the tiny peninsula of Okhamandal) embodies significant cultural heritage as the site of all Indian pilgrimage and of archaeological discoveries of historic and protohistoric settlements dating back to 1500 BCE. The story of Dwarka lost and reclaimed from the sea has inspired and intrigued countless generations of Hindus. It has motivated archaeologists to prove the veracity of the myth and make it history through scientific explorations in the twentieth century. Sites with claims to being Krishna's Dwarka have been excavated since the 1960s and archaeological findings published in numerous articles and books. The present-day Dwarka appears to be the likeliest candidate although evidence of its historicity is inconclusive. That it was part of a network of settlements in protohistoric period (1800 to 1500 BCE) in Okhamandal peninsula is attested by archaeological research.[8]

The presence of creeks and seasonal rivers in the coastal region of Saurashtra in Gujarat where Dwarka is situated allowed harbors to be built and sea trade to flourish since ancient times.[9] Stone and iron anchors and fragments of stone walls and bastions have been found on the seabed at a depth of 7 to 10 meters in underwater exploration 1 to 1.3 kilometers seaward of the present-day Samudranarayan Temple, in Dwarka. S. R. Rao surmises that these may be remains of the ancient submerged Dwarka, planned as a fortified settlement with six sectors on the banks of the Gomti, whose bed in the past had extended into the sea.[10] A natural ridge running parallel to the shore where a number of anchors were found had served as a wharf in what would have been a busy port in the protohistoric period. Other archaeologists disagree, pointing out that underwater structures are of dressed stone and likely of recent origin, although the anchors are much older, suggesting that Dwarka had been a seaport at least since the third century BCE.[11] Excavations in Dwarkadhish Temple in Dwarka yielded remains of five successive temples built since the beginning of the millennium.[12]

What about Dwarka being swept away by the sea? Archaeological research is once again inconclusive in substantiating this as a fact. The estuarine delta environment in the Great and Little Rann in Kutch, above Okhamandal, has evidenced erosion and redistribution of sediments caused by sea-level fluctuations since the late Pleistocene/early Holocene epochs. Transgression and regression of

sea caused changes in the shoreline, as evidenced by artifacts found in intertidal zones. In the protohistoric period sea level would have been higher than the present level since many Harappan coastal towns such as Lothal in the Gulf of Khambat are now located in hinterland. It declined by 2–3 meters in Bet Dwarka around 1300 BCE, resulting in land reclaimed from the sea on the northern and eastern part of Okhamandal. Sea level rose again around a thousand years ago, submerging coastal sites of the historic period. The shore has advanced landward by 550 meters in the last 130 years.[13]

In Okhamandal coral reef fossils have been found inland near Dwarka and Gopi Talav, and below surface in Mithapur, pointing to tectonic disturbances in the region. The Gulf of Kutch has also been seismically active, with major earthquakes recorded in the recent past (1819, 1956, and 2001). C. P. Rajendran, K. Rajendran, K. H. Vora, and A. S. Gaur have identified a seismically generated sand blow in Bet Dwarka near a thrust fault suggesting an earthquake two thousand years ago.[14] While future studies could prove that Dwarka was submerged by a giant tsunami, it is more likely that ancient harbors in Okhamandal became unnavigable due to changes in coastal morphology.[15] There are major gaps in the history of Dwarka between protohistoric and historic periods. Dwarka's destroyed earlier temples were dated by digging trenches in the forecourt of Dwarkadhish Temple; offshore excavations on the seabed at Dwarka and in the intertidal range in Bet Dwarka revealed artifacts whose age was determined through carbon and thermoluminescence dating. Their use value in the present is related to their survival from another time and what they tell us about it. Yet the story, unlike the myth, is never complete and gaps continue to persist, waiting to be filled by promise of further research.

Dwarka's popularity as a pilgrim destination began to grow beginning in the ninth century, when the saint-philosopher Adi Shankaracharya chose it as the site of Sharadapith, one of the four major monasteries for the study of the Vedanta doctrine of Hinduism.[16] Dwarkadhish Temple became the prime target of Islamic iconoclasm and was ransacked by Muhammad Shah in 1241 CE and the Gujarat Sultan Mahmud Begarha in 1473 CE.[17] The sixteenth-century saint Vallabhacharya is believed to have hidden the deity in a stepwell during one of the Islamic invasions and installed it in a temple in Bet Dwarka. Dwarkadhish Temple was looted during the 1857 uprising and later restored by Gaekwad rulers

FIGURE 2.2. Samudranarayan Temple in Dwarka. Credit: Amita Sinha.

of Baroda state. Today Dwarka is a thriving town of 38,873 residents visited annually by nearly 2 million pilgrims. Its temples and those at other sacred sites in Okhamandal are thriving centers of worship and receive government aid in their upkeep.

Dwarka is a site of memory as an enacted landscape of pilgrimage *and* an archive of fragments buried underground and scattered on the seabed at the coastal edge. Place myths, temples and shrines, pamphlets, local folk art, and songs create and buttress memory of Krishna's heroic feats and his eternal city. Oral traditions have been tenacious in keeping those memories alive yet there appears to be the need to authenticate the past through empirical knowledge. Myths enacted by the devotee are successful in reliving the past in the present and are in that sense "living history" despite being considered by historians to be works of imagination. In the quest to turn myth into history, archaeologists have sought to "prove" the existence of historic Dwarka and Krishna through material remains. In translating myth into history through empirical research, reconstruction of past events is given a factual basis, and therein lies its appeal. The psychological immediacy of the enacted myth is complemented by the detached perspective used in documenting history. In the attempt to reconcile myth and history, Dwarka becomes a representational space—of myth, symbols, traditional spatial practice—as well as a space of representation—of timelines, taxonomies, and networks that describe empirical knowledge systems.[18] Both ways of seeing and remembering the past can inform the present and may be considered in projecting Dwarka's future.

PART II

Ways of Seeing

> An image is a sight which has been re-created or reproduced. It is an appearance, or a set of appearances, which has been detached from the place and time in which it first made its appearance and preserved—for a few moments or for a few centuries. Every image embodies a way of seeing.
>
> **—John Berger**

Ways of seeing are affected by changing cultural norms regarding beauty and aesthetic perfection. The art historian Michael Baxandall's notion that the "period eye" guides viewer appreciation of art in a particular era is useful in understanding how visual perception is culturally conditioned.[1] The period eye shapes individual and societal preferences for judging the beautiful and the picturesque and is captured in visual representations that in turn influence actual perception of art objects, buildings, or landscapes. Visuality is a historical mode of seeing encompassing cultural codes and practices; cultures inculcate habits of perception.[2] Looking is integral to landscape perception and a means to interpreting symbolic meanings of forms and spatial organization.

The idea of the landscape as a scenic view has been dominant in Western thinking and imagination for close to three hundred years, but it is only one of the many ways of seeing it.[3] In Western thinking and imagination, vision has

been the primary sense in not only perceiving the landscape but also in giving shape to its very idea. The representation of perspective in landscape paintings and in design is *a* mode of visuality, constructed by Renaissance artists, and equated with the dominant Western artistic vision. As a visual mode that allows one to perceive distance and territorial expanse, it served as the benchmark against which all other modes were measured and found wanting.

In Europe, the term *picturesque* was applied to landscapes and their representations, with its meaning shifting from objective properties of a site to a mode of perception. Wilderness, rural landscapes, and estate gardens possessing properties of roughness, irregularity, and unexpected variety were considered picturesque, a quality intrinsic to the site; to the sensation of curiosity and pleasure was added later the association of ideas provoked by the site. Ruins were significant in the picturesque imagination in their rough and broken appearances and because of their associations of lost grandeur, their incompleteness, and evocation of melancholy.[4] The cult of ruins was pervasive by the end of eighteenth century, made popular by Piranesi's etchings of Rome that reminded viewers of the passage of time and its destructive power.[5] Transience and decay were captured in the images but so were grandeur, beauty, and erotic attraction.

The cult of the picturesque brought an increasing number of travelers to India as travel became easier with British rule. The European traveler in nineteenth-century colonial India sought the picturesque view, a culturally influenced way of seeing. Added to the feeling of wonder was fascination in contemplating decaying ruins of a civilization. Colonial India's ruins carried an added meaning of reminding the European visitor that its societies were past their prime and served the orientalist agenda of reversing decline through British rule.[6] This was the orientalist's gaze, judging what it saw to be expressive of despotic and stagnant societies.

The new category of "sublime" in aesthetics captured orientalists' wonderment and perception of remote antiquity of cave temples and pagodas. None, however, described Indian art and architecture as beautiful in the classical sense. The notion of the picturesque influenced their perception of Indian antiquities—ancient monuments scattered in wilderness and taken over by nature, pastoral scenes by the river with silhouettes of temple spires, minarets, and domes of mosques. William Hodges's and William Daniell's aquatints showing buildings

in the landscape displayed a romantic sensibility. Scholarly interests led to careful measurement of many monuments and work by archaeologists brought fresh discoveries to light.

James Fergusson's massive compilation of nearly four hundred illustrations in *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, the first text on Indian architectural history, would not have been possible without these earlier efforts and use of photographs.[7] In documenting Indian architecture, Fergusson was heavily influenced by the picturesque aesthetic although his work ostensibly fell within the domain of "scientific discipline" in its objective visual rendering of historic structures. His lithographic plates show the monument dominating the picture frame, framed by gnarled vegetation and surrounded by fallen ruins.[8] Scholarly interests led to careful measurement of many monuments and work by archaeologists brought fresh discoveries to light.

The many cultures that the Indian subcontinent has been a home to in its long history shaped not only worldviews but also habits of looking. The visual practices in cultures accompanying the arrival of Islam in the Indian subcontinent became the hegemonic mode over time, to be supplanted by the colonial picturesque in the eighteenth century. The syncretic Indo-Islamic culture directed its gaze toward territorial control and representation of paradise on earth in gardens, while the colonial culture derived its inspiration from the picturesque ideals of Europe and sought to depict and remake the subject landscapes in that image. The intricate set of geometric and axial relationships within the Indo-Islamic garden and its built structures gave way to a looser, freeform landscape vocabulary where ambiguity and mystery were valued over clarity of the rectilinear order.

Underlying the medieval and the colonial and coexisting with it is yet another way of seeing that can be traced to the ancient yogic practice of looking inward, placing inner vision above exterior reality. In contrast to the orientalist gaze in search of the picturesque, the reverential gaze of the Indian traveler looked for the divine in the landscape. It is a contrast to the perceptual habit of seeing landscapes as distant scenic views, the dominant mode of visuality in the West until it was challenged by the concept of landscapes as products of economic relations displaying power and status.[9] Sacred landscapes of Indic religions are best interpreted as places that are products of a way of seeing the divine in

nature and enacting the visionary experience. Archetypal forms of nature such as mountains, rivers, and natural vegetation are symbols of divinity and homes to gods and goddesses. Occurring singly or in combination as in the mountain-river dyad, they are symbols of *axis mundi*, crossing points or fords, replete with possibilities of encounter with the divine. This encounter occurs primarily through vision augmented by other senses as the pilgrim traverses the cultural landscape that has evolved on and around the natural features.

Hinduism conceptualizes natural archetypes as metonymic forms of divinity and synecdochic in their capacity to imagine the entire natural world as its manifestation. This mode of perception has bred a rich array of visual imagery in art, architecture, and popular culture through the ages and has shaped the larger cultural landscape as well. The visionary mode was cultivated in settings appropriate for meditative practices and altered states of consciousness. Caves and forest interiors, settings with limited external stimuli, were ideal surroundings for introspective thinking and looking inward. They served as natural archetypes for built forms of the Hindu temple and the Buddhist monastery. Cave art and temple sculptural friezes attest to this way of seeing, a kind of proximate vision where the haptic sense and touch were stimulated.[10] This sensual and synesthetic mode, at the opposite end from the perspectival and distant mode in the vision continuum, is evident in perceptual habits that shaped the visual arts and cultural landscapes of ancient India.

The concept of *darshan*, or auspicious sight, is unique to the Indic way of seeing in which the mutual gaze exchanged with the deity or an exalted person is fulfilling in many ways. This is in stark contrast to the Western idea that the effect of gaze reduces one to an object without consciousness and autonomy.[11] Natural features—hills and bodies of water—were often sites of temples, their sacredness made manifest in concrete form of buildings.[12] Pilgrimage sites offer a glimpse of the vision continuum—from the large-scale reordering of the natural landscape in the great temple towns of Tamil Nadu and in the building of circumambulatory routes, sacred tanks, and groves into mandala patterns, to the close-at-hand iconic imagery of individual natural elements, perceived as manifestations of divinity and accordingly embellished.[13] I discuss three landscapes to show how cultural visuality shapes perception. In Govardhan Hill and the River Yamuna in Braj the divine is visualized in nature; mandala is perceived in

the urban layout of Orchha; and Islamic visual order is eclipsed by the colonial picturesque in managing the landscape of the Taj Mahal in Agra.

The multicultural heritage of the Indian subcontinent—Indic, Islamic, and colonial—is constituted by different ways of seeing the landscape. Learning to see in a new and different way is fundamental to a paradigm shift. The picturesque mode of perception has been detrimental to exploration of how land and culture are mutually constitutive in the making of landscape.[14] The tourist gaze in the globalizing twenty-first-century seeks the scenic and the spectacular, reducing the landscape to mere scenery and backdrop to staged dramatic events.[15] The gaze could voraciously consume without a meaningful understanding of landscape structure.[16] The distance between the subject and the object of his/her gaze and accompanying commodification promoted by tourism is an obstacle to informed and empathetic understanding of heritage. The tourist's gaze is not quite the reverential sighting desired by the pilgrim, and global tourism promotes the spectacle but not the interests of the local communities. The *etic* gaze of the tourist (outsider) and the *emic* of the resident (insider), when compared and contrasted, indicate different cultural visualities and habits of viewing. In interpreting these diverse visualities lies the key to understanding landscape structure in the past and ways in which it can be made comprehensible in the present.


गो सेवा

CHAPTER 3

Natural Hierophanies

Sites are reclaimed repeatedly in accordance with archetypal visual imagery of myths, as the history of the sacred landscape of Braj, associated with the god Krishna, reveals. This region, destination of pilgrimage from all over India and abroad, covers thirty-five square miles in three northern states of India—Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Haryana. The Yamuna River flows on its eastern edge while its western edge consists of the outlying spurs of the Aravalli hill range. Amid the cultivated fields of wheat, millet, and sugarcane survive forests, groves, and bodies of water. The ancient city of Mathura is the largest urban settlement, in addition to about six hundred hamlets and several small towns, including Vrindavan, Gokul, Nandgaon, and Barsana. Govardhan Hill and the Yamuna River are the most celebrated examples of natural archetypes of Hindu mythology, and among all the hills and bodies of water of Braj, are the most ancient sacred sites, never "lost" nor "found" again.[1] They figure prominently in Krishna myths and legends and their visual representations in narrative art of sculpture, paintings, poetry, and literature abound. Govardhan is visualized as a form of Krishna, believed to be his embodiment and manifesting his essential form (*svarup*), while Yamuna is seen as a goddess and his lover. Visualizations range from iconic representations in anthropomorphic forms of Krishna and Yamuna to phenomenal representations as in a conical mountain and the river

◁ **Figure 3.1.** Diorama of Krishna holding the Govardhan Hill, Govardhan. Credit: Amita Sinha.

flowing diagonally within a picture frame. The latter also depict the archetypal landscape of the water tank (*kund*) in the garden grove (*van*) ubiquitous in Braj, each site drawing its unique association and specific form from a particular narrative associated with the place.[2]

Govardhan Hill, revered as much as the Yamuna, if not more, is widely believed to be the metonymic form of Krishna and embodiment of his divinity. Govardhan was an ancient site of cattle worship by local tribes who circumambulated it with their cows during festivals. It was later coopted into Krishna mythology, resulting in the conflation of Govardhan with Giriraj (king of hills) and Krishna. The rich array of Govardhan images allude to the many myths centered on the hill, the most popular of which is Krishna holding it up like an umbrella on his little finger. Other representations include the mountain-river dyad of Govardhan Hill and the Yamuna flowing at its foot, the hill as a mountain of food Annakut, Krishna filling the hollow of a cave in the hill, and the hill as a peacock and a bull.[3] This varied imagery spans popular culture and high art in calendar art, posters, billboards, and *jhanki*s (tableaus) and in rock sculptures, frescoes, and medieval court paintings.[4]

Legend has it that nature's bounties were abundant in Govardhan Hill—pure water from its waterfalls, the many varieties of herbs, fruits, and flowers, and its minerals and gems. Krishna instructed his community to worship the hill instead of the sky god Indra, as it brought them verdure for their cattle, and as rainfall was captured on the hill in tanks that the community could use. When wrathful Indra sent incessant rains causing floods, Krishna lifted Govardhan on his little finger to protect his people and cattle. Stories of Krishna celebrating his victory over gods, prowess over demons, dalliances with the *gopi*s (cowherdesses) and manifestation to his devotees became associated with specific sites. It is believed that Krishna and his brother Balaram spent many hours grazing their cows on the tender grass of Govardhan Hill. Its shady groves and ponds were ideal places for Radha and Krishna's play and its hidden caves for their intimacy.[5]

Individual sites on the hill are represented in painting with imagery drawn from Krishna sporting with Radha and other gopis in a verdant, Eden-like setting of *kunj* (bower) and *nikunj* (arbor) in groves. In the intimate space of the kunj framed by trees and creepers, Radha and Krishna are shown locked in an embrace, dancing and surrounded by a circle of gopis. The pair and their friends

animate a pastoral landscape with a river or pond in the foreground and occasionally a clustered hamlet on the horizon. Sites on Govardhan such as Dan Ghati are depicted as a narrow pass in a hilly landscape where Krishna demands a toll of kisses from gopis.[6] Twin kunds such as Radha-Shyam and Apsara-Naval are imagined as aquatic forms of Radha and Krishna with their waters intermingling. The seventeenth-century text *Kunjavarnan* describes Radha-Shyam Kunds surrounded by kunjes with mango and kadamb trees and lotus-filled tanks with swans.[7]

The relationship of imagined landscapes described in words and images to the actual, physical landscape may at first appear tenuous, but on closer examination it is apparent that idealized imagery has indeed inspired and imprinted the present-day cultural landscape of Govardhan. Quite unlike its conical representations, Govardhan Hill is a long, low ridge, rising no more than a hundred feet above the surrounding plain.[8] The villages of Jatipura and Aniyor nestle against the hill where it crests, while Punchari village lies at its southern foot. A break in its profile at midrange known as Dan Ghati is a prominent point of arrival from Mathura just south of Govardhan town. On its north, the hill is visible for a short distance only, tapering off well before the site of Radha Kund village. The sacred sites of Govardhan Hill have attracted communities who farm, herd livestock, and participate in the local economy generated by pilgrimage. The five hamlets—Radha Kund, Govardhan, Jatipura, Aniyor, and Punchari—are oriented around kunds with streets leading up to them. These kunds, once situated within groves, are now surrounded with temples, shrines, and stretches of *ghat*s that function as public spaces for the community and sites of pilgrimage. A few fed by natural springs, or replenished by surface flow during monsoons, are built in pairs with one catching the overflow of other.

Krishna's transmutation into natural forms imparts sanctity to the landscape—Govardhan Hill and its boulders and stones, built kunds and natural ponds, garden groves, and even the soil. There are innumerable signs of Krishna in this visually rich iconographic landscape pointing to his ubiquitous presence. He takes many forms at Govardhan Hill—from crude stones in shrines to elaborately carved and colorfully dressed statuary in temples. The multiplicity of signs, relics, and built structures are reminders of his eternal presence in this richly layered landscape and signs of his transcendence made immanent in material


मन्दिर
जय श्री गिरिराज
मन्दिर
श्री गिरिराजजी मुख

forms. They aid in blurring the boundary between imagined and real for those who are psychologically attuned to visionary experiences.

Yamuna is a divine goddess and represented in anthropomorphic form; her banks are associated with the eternal presence of Krishna and lined with ghats and shrines.[9] As David Haberman points out, "Yamuna theology and worship has been most fully developed in relation with Krishna in Braj."[10] She is the supreme lover of Krishna and shares his dark color, and as such she and Krishna are essentially one representing female and male aspects of divinity. Yamuna is depicted in popular art as a beautiful young damsel holding a garland of flowers in a verdant landscape, running impatiently to meet Krishna. As the daughter of the sun god Vivasat and the sister of Yama, the god of death, she is powerful as a giver of life and protector against death.[11]

Yamuna figures prominently in Krishna myths. When Vasudev transports the newly born Krishna from the prison in Mathura to Gokul, the Yamuna, in high spate at the time, miraculously calms down to allow the crossing. Young Krishna subdues Kaliya Naga dwelling in the depths of the Yamuna and poisoning its waters, and then dances on the seven heads of the mythical serpent. Chirghat, on the Yamuna banks in Vrindavan, is where Krishna stole gopis' clothes and hid in the branches of a kadamba tree as they bathed in the river. These events are the subject of innumerable songs, paintings, and modern forms of pictorial arts—comic books and films. Krishna's amorous play with Radha and other gopis on Yamuna banks provides the theme for a rare and remarkable congruence between word and image in magnificent poetry and beautiful paintings for close to six hundred years.

Among the many texts the twelfth-century poem *Gita-Govinda*, by Jayadeva, has inspired the visual depiction of the Yamuna landscape most notably in Pahari paintings in hill states and in Rajasthani paintings of western India in the eighteenth century.[12] In Kangra paintings and Mewar manuscript paintings, nature and landscapes are rendered with great feeling befitting the emotional intensity of Jayadeva's lyrical poem. Whether in foreground, background, or cutting through the picture frame diagonally, Yamuna's swelling banks are verdant

◁ Figure 3.2. **Govardhan Hill. Credit: Amita Sinha.**

FIGURE 3.3. **Goddess Yamuna painted on a shrine on the riverbank. Credit: Amita Sinha.**

with colorful foliage, and populated with bowers amid trees, pairs of birds, and animals. They are Eden-like natural gardens in eternal springtime, perfect settings for love and sorrow on separation from the beloved.

Many poets writing in Brajbhasha (the language spoken in northern India originating in Braj), such as Surdas, Haridas, and Nanddas, composed evocative verses in honor of Yamuna in the sixteenth century when Braj experienced a religious and cultural renaissance.[13] The collection of forty-one Yamuna poems written by the eight poet-saints known collectively as the Ashta Chap describe Krishna wandering playfully, making love night and day on the riverbanks where bumblebees dwell. "Shri Yamuna Chalisa," by Pannalal Purushottam Shastri, calls Yamuna the queen of Braj on whose banks Krishna and Radha sit in a love bower. "Yamunashtakam," by Rupa Gosvamin, describes her banks adorned by herds of cows and where divinely perfumed kadamba trees shower flowers on

her waters.[14] Pastoral landscapes lining the Yamuna banks have become seemingly timeless in their hold on popular imagination and have inspired much devotional fervor. Their archetypal form, much celebrated in poetry and songs and legendary in its iconic appeal, is of a clearing in a grove, with the Yamuna flowing close by. The Yamuna's banks in Mathura and Vrindavan are the subject of poems and songs and settings of *raas lila* performances that combine dance and songs set to music with dramatic episodes drawn from adolescent Krishna's adventures. This is the favored site for the *raas*, in which the dance performance takes place in a circle with Krishna and his beloved gopi Radha at the center and other gopis at the periphery.

Yamuna's transcendent powers as a life-giving, purifying, and protective divine force are visualized in both phenomenal and iconographic forms. In her iconographic form Yamuna is a prominent figure in the visual culture of Braj, the strongest expression of which can be found in the temples dedicated to her in Mathura, Vrindavan, and Gokul on her banks. In them she is worshipped as a goddess icon flanked by Krishna as Giriraj represented by a stone from Mount Govardhan. Other temples celebrate her goddess form flanked by images of her brother Yama and those of Krishna, his brother Balaram, and their parents, Devaki and Vasudev.

Historically Yamuna's banks in Braj were forested; one example was Madhuban (named after the demon Madhu) in Mathura, which gave the city its name. Over time the western bank became urbanized as the settlements—Mathura and Vrindavan—grew while the eastern bank remained unpopulated. Riverfront temples and shrines in the cities led to the built landscape of ghats that has emerged over centuries to allow rituals paying homage to Yamuna's divine powers. Vishram Ghat in Mathura, in the center of a two-mile stretch of twenty-four ghats, derives its name from the culminating episode of Krishna's life in Braj marking the spot where Krishna rested after killing his evil uncle and tyrant Kans, whose body was cremated at the riverbank.

The ghats date back at least three centuries, although they are conspicuously absent in depictions of the Yamuna riverfront in medieval paintings. As a self-evolving built landscape, they are palimpsest of forms that speak of beliefs and rituals sustained in spite of the hegemony of Islam in the region for over six hundred years, until the nineteenth century.[15] Their archetypal form emerging

from the functional need to access changing water levels has facilitated bathing and worship. The steps are intercepted by octagonal *burj*es (piers) that have private shaded areas below used primarily by women. *Chattri*s (domed kiosks) on the burj or close to ghat landing are also rest areas and occasionally house a shrine. Buildings with colonnades at ground level behind the ghats provide public spaces for movement and pause. Viewed from the river, the ghats provide a visually arresting skyline composed of burjes, chattris, and arches and access to Mathura's many old temples and historic fort.[16] The architectural character of the buildings lining the ghats in a hybrid Hindu-Islamic style has been elaborated in the last four to five hundred years into a regional design vocabulary, a synthesis of Rajput and Mughal architecture.[17]

CHAPTER 4

Urban Mandala

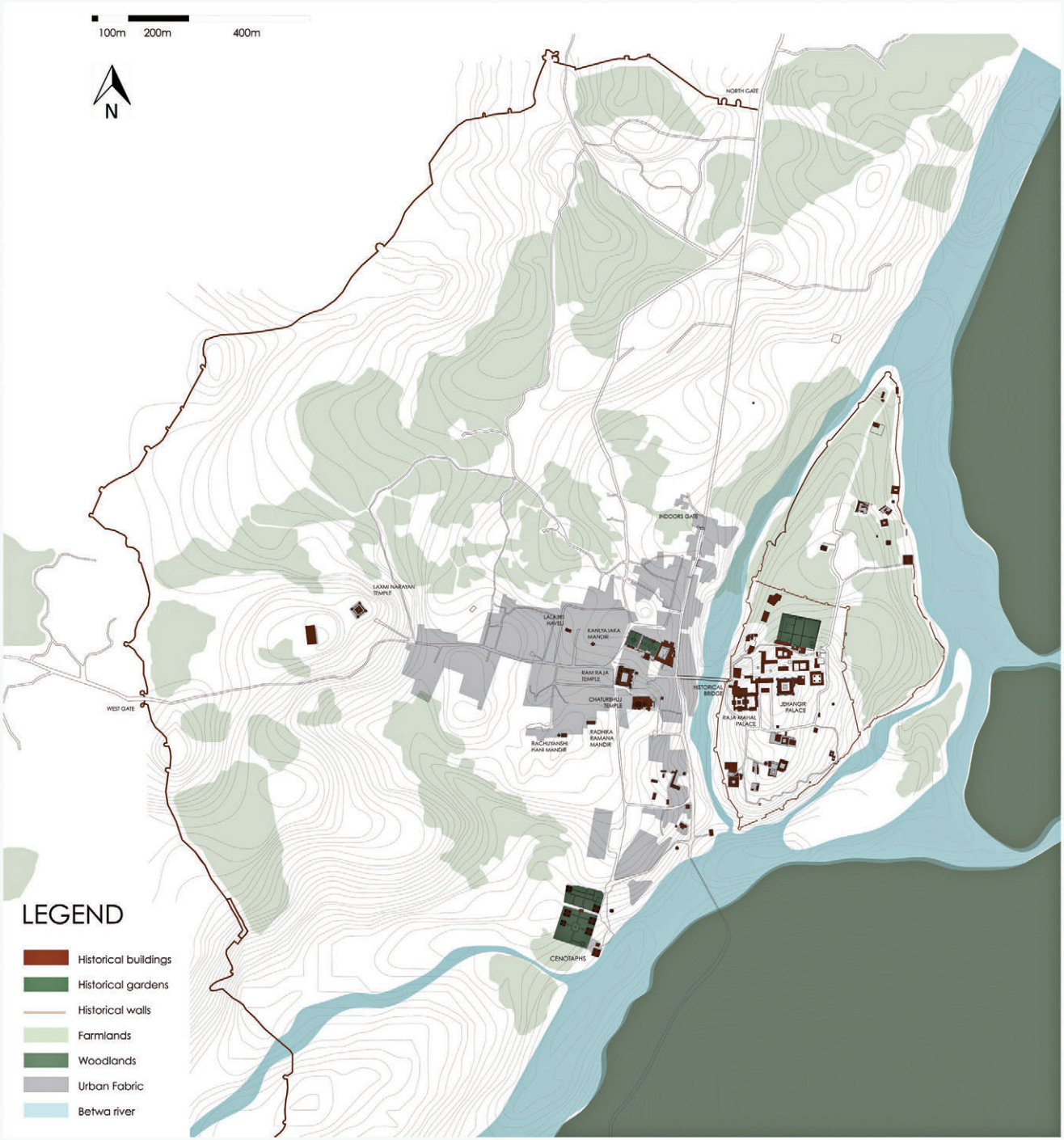
Archetypal images are pervasive in Indic visuality and significantly impact the design and perception of the built environment. Their use serves the purpose of rendering the landscape auspicious in the sense of affording divine protection through the symbolic presence of gods in the terrestrial realm. In premodern India, abstract and figural imagery represented in the location and layout of buildings and encoded in their interior and exterior surfaces reinforced the sacred perception of the site deliberately chosen for its auspiciousness. The family of archetypal geometric forms includes circles, triangles, and squares from which more complex forms are created through combination in mandalas and *yantras*; for example, a circle within a square or triangles within square. Swastikas, conches, and lotuses, among other forms, are also widely prevalent in sacred iconography. The ubiquitous figural or anthropomorphic imagery of gods and goddesses assures the viewer of divine blessings and supernatural protection. The cultural landscape evolved as a result of the "way of seeing" visual relationships among the natural features and buildings. The archetypal imagery was envisioned though imaginative reconstruction of mandala and yantra patterns using sightlines, through architectural forms and framing of icons.

Mandala and yantra are archetypal geometric forms used widely for consecrating space by inviting gods to reside and subduing demonic spirits of the site. As cosmograms they depict an ideal, ordered, and harmonious universe and are

spatial metaphors of an existential space.[1] Mandalas are usually circles or gridded squares, symbolic replicas of the cosmos representing concentrations of its positive energies. Yantras, often interchangeable with mandalas, are triangular and function as ritual objects of meditation and worship.[2] Closely associated with the mandala is another archetypal image—Mount Meru, imagined in the Hindu cosmography to be the center of cosmos, *axis mundi* linking earth with the heavens, rising out of the middle of seven ring-shaped concentric continents and seven circumambient oceans.[3] The circle/great round conception of space evolves into square/rectangular architectural forms when cardinal directions are acknowledged. In temple towns in the Kaveri delta in Tamil Nadu, mandalas can be discerned in the concentric layout of streets around the temple as the center.[4] Their use in urban form has been sparsely studied in pilgrim sites and it is not known to what extent these auspicious forms guided site selection and settlement layout in nonsacred sites. The plan of Jaipur, the capital city founded in the eighteenth century, speculated to be based upon a mandala of nine squares, is a well-known example, but few others have been documented. In sacred sites associated with the epic *Ramayana* at Chitrakut, the auspicious triangular yantras implicit in the natural features of the landscape are articulated by the placement of temples and shrines.[5]

The landscape of Orchha, capital of the Bundela Rajputs from 1531 to 1783 in central India, is a case study in the use of archetypal imagery at various levels—settlement, building, and ornamentation.[6] Bundelas built palaces, temples, and gardens on the banks of the River Betwa in Central India.[7] Orchha derived its name from the phrase *ondo chhe*, meaning "low" or "hidden," apt for a bowl-shaped region, enclosed by bluffs and forests. The River Betwa and its tributaries have carved deep ravines in low gneiss and sandstone ridges crisscrossed by basaltic dikes. Teak forests and scrub jungle flourish in their alluvial plain of sandy loam and disintegrated basaltic Deccan trap.[8] Betwa, known as Vetravati in the epics, is ascribed great purity and power, washing away all sins when one bathes in it. Its banks were considered to be *tapovan* (forest of penance) where

▷ Figure 4.1. **Credit: Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.**


100m
200m
400m
N
NORTH GATE
INDOOR1 GATE
LAXMI NARAYAN TEMPLE
LALKHI HAVELI
KANIYA JAKA MANDIR
RAM RAJA TEMPLE
CHATURBHUJ TEMPLE
RADHIKA RAMANA MANDIR
RACHUYANSHI HANI MANDIR
WEST GATE
HISTORICAL BRIDGE
JEHANGIR PALACE
RAJA MAHAL PALACE
CENOTAPHS
LEGEND
Historical buildings
Historical gardens
Historical walls
Farmlands
Woodlands
Urban Fabric
Betwa river

ascetics built their hermitages, taught the sacred texts, and purified the wilderness of its evil.[9] The Bundela citadel was built on an island in the River Betwa, as a *jal durg* (water fort), one among the fort types discussed in the medieval design treatises, *vastu shastras*.[10] The rocky and barren Bundelkhand plateau was ideal for fort building by the Bundela Rajputs in the medieval period and was their sanctuary from attacks by Sultanate and Mughal forces.[11] Betwa's two tributaries, Jamner and Ghurari, merging at Orchha, result in a natural landscape of fording streams, ideal for a moated citadel in perilous times. Across the moat, west of the island citadel, a group of palaces and temples were built, forming a secondary core in a largely uninhabited area circumscribed by a semicircular wall. Toward the south, on the banks of Betwa, rose a group of *chattris*, memorials to Bundela rulers and their queens.

Place narratives—myths and local legends—impart meanings to the abstract forms employed in consecrating space, locating, and designing buildings. They provide the iconic imagery for populating the representational space, thus adding vitality. Bundelas claim to be *suryavanshi*s (descendants of the sun god), tracing their lineage to Lava, Lord Rama's son. The Bundela name was given to one Hemkaran who was dispossessed of his inheritance by his brothers. He offered his head in sacrifice to the great mother goddess of the Vindhyachal forests. *Bundela* derives from either Vindhyachal or *boondh* ("drop of blood"), in reference when he attempted to cut his head off. His descendant Rudra Pratap Singh ushered in a new era of building palaces and temples and patronizing literary and performing arts when he selected the site to build a fort. The epic *Ramayana* inspired the flowering of Bundela arts—palace murals, temple iconography, and literary productions. The most famous legend is that of Ganesh Kuvari, queen of Orchha ruler Madhukar Shah, bringing Lord Rama from Ayodhya in an eight-month long journey on foot. The deity was installed in Rani Mahal, as Chaturbhuj Temple was not yet built, and that became his permanent home. Thus, the palace, known as Ram Raja Temple, became the center of Orchha, from where Lord Rama rules over his kingdom.

The allegorical tales of gods, goddesses, and historical human figures contain moral codes, and their depiction becomes a continuing reminder for how life ought to be lived in congruence with ideal conduct. Keshavdas's poems in vernacular Brajbhasha, *Ratnabhavani* and *Virsinghdevcharit*, were idealized narratives

of Bundela princes, containing allusions to Orchha's palace gardens and the River Betwa.[12] Bundela legends sung as ballads of valor and piety of heroes such as Prince Hardaul, brother of Jhujhar Singh, ruler of Orchha, are immensely popular. Legend has it that Jhujhar suspected Hardaul of having an affair with his queen and asked her to give Hardaul poison. Hardaul's death from poison made him a powerful icon for family values. His shrines are found under trees in Bundelkhand villages and one occupies the center of Phoolbagh garden in Orchha.

Orchha's landscape was rendered auspicious through a concrete embodiment of archetypal images deeply rooted in the collective consciousness of Indic cultures. The images range from figural to abstract, but they have in common the potential to evoke the divine immanent in nature. This imagery was deliberately and consistently employed to produce an ordered landscape from the chaos of wilderness. The archetypal images were encoded in built forms, pervaded building interiors, reproduced in place settings, reflected in the waters, and imagined as visual axes in the urban structure. Their presentation and re-presentation in the landscape made it iconic and oracular.

The formal urban and architectural order was given meaning through myths and legends, in particular the epic myth of Rama, after whom the Bundela rulers modeled their kingship. The *Ramayana* narrative was imprinted on Orchha's cultural landscape through the process of spatial transposition. Not only was the Rama idol brought from his capital Ayodhya, legitimizing the Bundela sovereignty on his behalf, but also places associated with his legend were transposed to Orchha. Specific sites were named after *Ramayana* sites elsewhere in the Indian subcontinent, in particular those associated with his exile, Chitrakut and Lanka. This toponymy reveals a cultural landscape of narrative place markers, where temples were built to commemorate Rama's victory over demonic forces, thus purifying the wilderness of its evil.

The temples of Orchha testify to the Vaishnavite (Vishnu and his incarnations—Rama and Krishna) orientation of Bundela rulers—for example, Chaturbhuj and Lakshminarayan are named after Vishnu; the former, housing a Krishna idol, is in active worship. The most prominent temple and the destination of regional pilgrimage is Ram Raja Temple, from where Rama rules over Orchha. Those built in outer fort in the island and across the Betwa refer to places Rama lived in during his exile. Vanvasi Temple is at the northern tip of the island and

Chitrakut is on a hillock toward the east rising above the Betwa.[13] The building named Yagya Shala ("sacrificial chamber") alludes to the rites performed by ascetics in the forest. Across the Betwa is a small temple in a site known as Ashok Vatika, where Sita was imprisoned by Ravan in his island fort Lanka. Further north, where Betwa meets with its tributary Jamner, is the point known as Sangam, alluding to the real *sangam* (confluence of Ganga and Yamuna) crossed by Rama, Sita and Lakshman in their journey to the south.

The symbolic significance of the following archetypal images is pertinent in interpreting the iconic landscape structure: mandala and yantra, Mount Meru and cosmic pillar, and place archetypes. A series of circular mandalas and four isosceles triangular yantras, discerned from above, with the Raja Mahal palace in the island citadel as the center and apex, organize the location of temples, cenotaphs, palaces, and gateways. Topographically prominent sites and the riverbank were deliberately chosen to create the system of panoramic vistas and visual axes. The natural and the built appear to be in synapomorphy in the emerging landscape structure. The island citadel of Orchha has palaces and temples with tall spires grouped in the center of the inner enclosure and scattered in the outer fort, all rising out of Betwa and its tributaries, popularly known as Satdhara (seven streams), an allusion to the mythic seven oceans. The cenotaphs on the Betwa River rising out of the watery expanse in fording streams southwest of the citadel were built on the cremation sites of Bundela kings. These riverfront commemorative memorial towers were symbolic representations of the world pillar rising out of the waters and reaching the skies, promising renewal and rebirth upon death.

Archetypal imagery; that is, making manifest the auspicious iconography of the sacred in the built environment, was reified through location, plan, and orientation of buildings, spatial transposition, and building interiors and exteriors as spaces for representation. For the wilderness to be transformed into the habitable landscape meant that the site had to be conceived as a receptacle for divinity present in temples and embodied in their architectural forms. The urban order was visualized as a series of imagined mandalas and yantras linking the major landmarks of Orchha. In addition to the design principles for jal durg, encoded in the vastu shastras and adapted to the local conditions, an intricate set of formal rules for the siting and orientation of temple and palatine architecture would have guided development. Buildings were located at different heights,

Figure 4.2. Jal durg on Betwa riverfront. Credit: Amita Sinha.

which was made possible by the undulating topography, thus making possible the visualization of mandalas and yantras. The major palaces and temples of Orchha—Raja Mahal, Jahangir Mahal, Ram Raja Temple, Chaturbhuj Temple, and Lakshminarayan Temple were located on higher promontories (225 meters and above)—while mansions, smaller temples, and their plazas—Radhika Raman, Raghuvamsani, and Kanhaiyya Mandirs—were built on slightly lower hillocks (on or above 220 meters). Closer to the riverfront on its floodplain (215 meters) are cenotaphs and *ghat*s, reflected in the waters. It is the visual relationship among the buildings, rather than the street layout, that is crucial in understanding the urban spatial order discerned in triangular yantras and circular mandalas.

The location of temples, sacred sites, and the city wall visually inscribes the circular mandalas centered at the Raja Mahal. The biggest circle overlaps with the city wall built by the Orchha ruler, Rudra Pratap Singh, marking out the space for habitation. Circles centered on Jahangir Mahal in the citadel describe the location of many smaller temples built on lower hillocks and Betwa's banks. The rim of a larger circle connects the Lakshminarayan Temple at the highest point in the site facing the sunrise on the summer solstice with the entry gateway to Orchha. As the sun sets behind the cenotaphs on the winter solstice, they are reflected in the Betwa, resulting in a spectacular vision of the place where the sun completes its circumambulation of the earth, figuratively speaking. Here the structures are a symbol of the world pillar mediating between heaven and netherworld.

The visual axes drawn between the monuments describe isosceles triangles that can be interpreted as implicit yantras embedded in the natural landscape and reified through building. Four isosceles triangles link Ram Raja and Lakshminarayan Temples and cenotaphs: Ram Raja Temple, Raja Mahal Palace, and cenotaphs; Raja Mahal Palace, Lakshminarayan Temple, and cenotaphs; and Raja Mahal Palace, Lakshminarayan Temple, and the inner-city gateway. Raja Mahal Palace is the apex of three of the yantras and of circular mandalas indicating its symbolic significance as the seat of royal power and thus the center of Orchha. Its height (Jahangir Palace and Lakshminarayan Temple were built at higher levels later) added to its visibility just as it did to Chaturbhuj Temple, the seat of divine power, built across the moat. The east-west visual axis linked the twin centers of power and kept the god and the king within sight of each other.

Natural features—Betwa and its tributaries as well as natural dikes—made

building the jal durg possible. Roughly polygonal, its walls rise parallel to the moat, tapering sharply, twelve degrees east of north, and parallel to the longitudinal axis of the island. This orientation determined the alignment of many buildings including historic temples within the fort, and those outside in the town. Royal palaces in the inner fort—Raja Mahal and Jahangir Mahal—are oriented east-west, on axis with the Chaturbhuj Temple, built across the moat. The two orientations—east and twelve degrees north of east—of adjacent buildings set up an interesting spatial dynamic in the public plazas and gardens between them. Etched on the third floor of Jahangir Mahal is a curious mystical diagram, a yantra—section superimposed on a plan with numerals—believed to be the plan of the jal durg; however, its symbolic significance is difficult to interpret.

The mandala archetype is evident in palatine and temple architecture where its material embodiment makes for a visceral experience rather than a mere exercise in visualization. The three palaces—Rani Mahal (now Ram Raja Temple), Raja Mahal, and Jahangir Mahal—are based upon the *paramsayika mandala*; that is, a square subdivided into smaller squares and rectangles with open space in the center. The palatine designs are highly evolved formal exercises in composition and massing and play of solids and voids. They mark the singular achievement of Bundela style—open courtyards alternating with pavilions at higher stories such that interior open spaces form an inverted pyramid. Chattris and domes break up the roofline: projecting walls, screened corridors, brackets, and balconies enliven the blank outer surfaces.[14]

Architectural surfaces, exterior and interior, provided spaces for iconic representations that added to the auspicious perception of the physical environment. Visual survey of palatine and temple murals and sculptural reliefs revealed ways in which framing created a focus and affirmed the auspicious feel of the built environment. These representations are primarily of heroic figures from myths and legends—gods and goddesses, demons, mythical composite creatures, flora and fauna, Bundela princes, ascetics, and dancers.[15] Framing of narrative episodes occurred by delimiting the space with foliate borders and placing figures under canopies and in blind arched or gabled openings. Among these, narrative imagery from the epic *Ramayana* was particularly important in palaces and temples, the interior surfaces dematerialized by extensive depictions, creating a dreamlike sensual near-environment populated by multiplicity of figures.

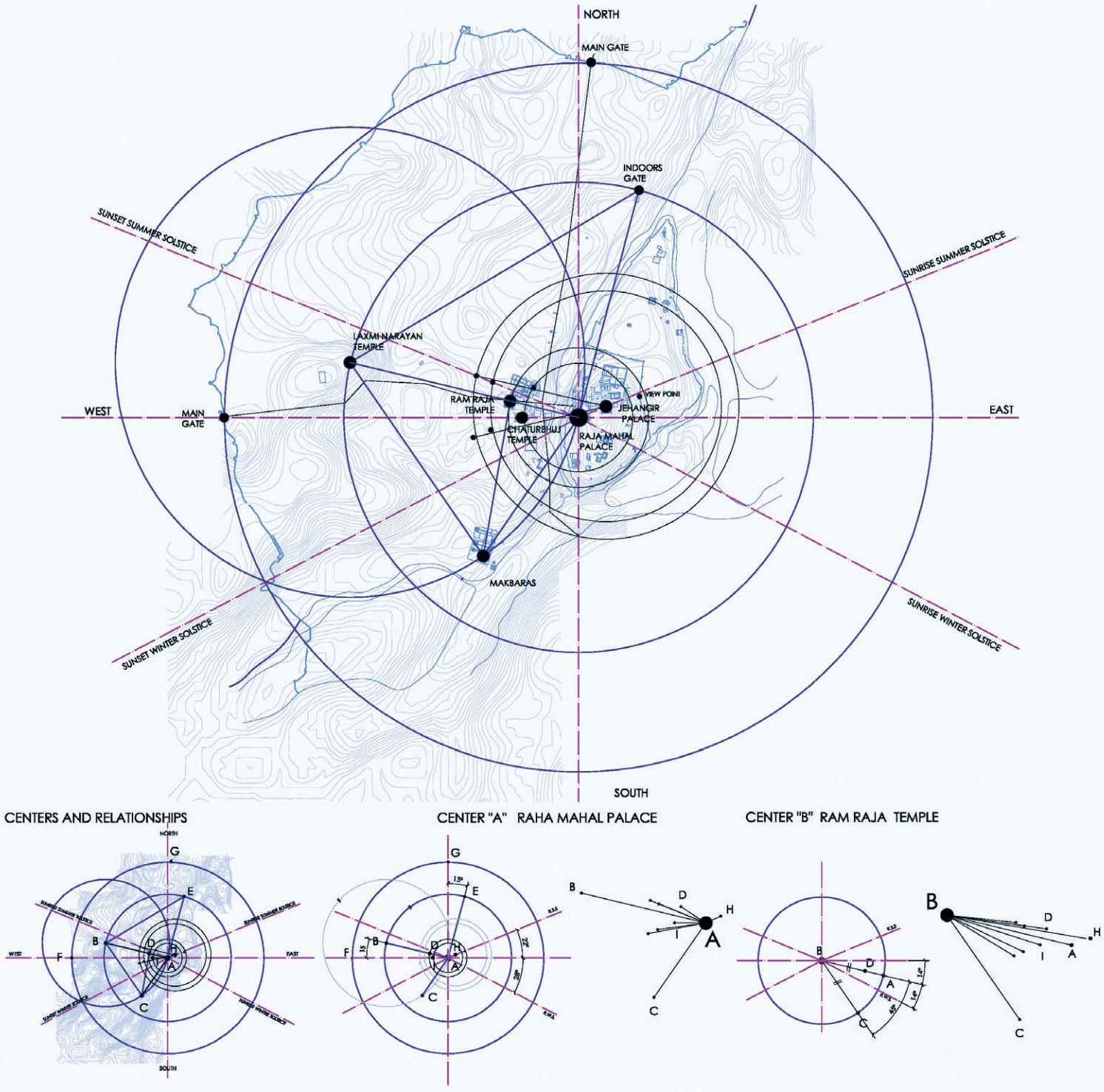
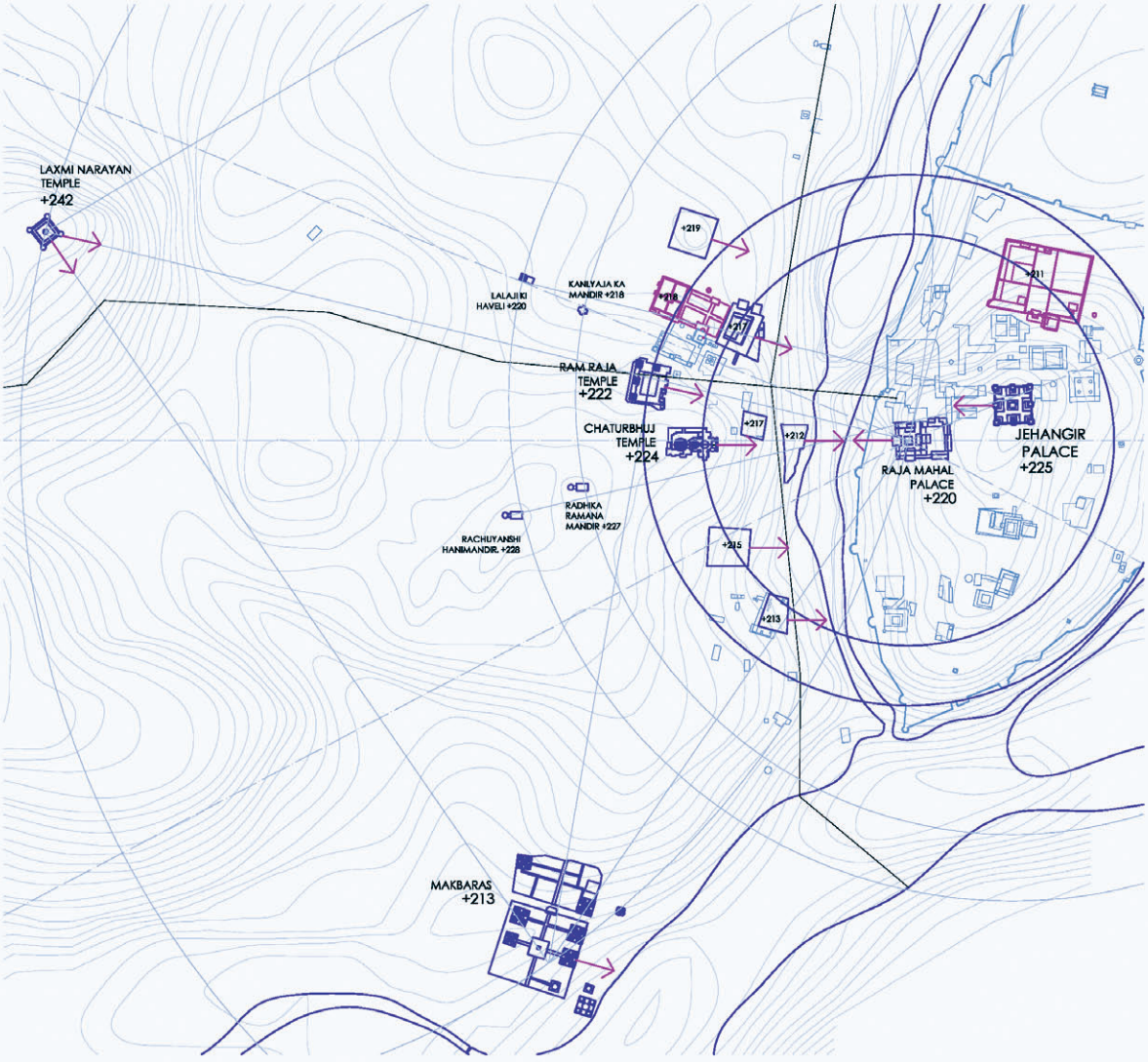


FIGURE 4.3. Mandalas and yantras in the Orchha landscape. Credit: Ana Valderrama.



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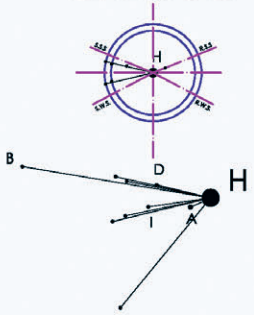

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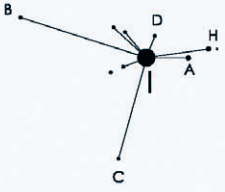
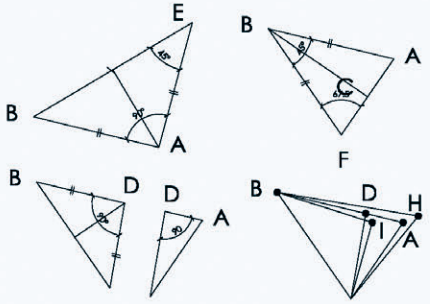
CHATURBHUJ TEMPLE



RELATIONSHIP AMONG
MAIN BUILDINGS



Murals on interior walls and ceilings—Rama's birth in Ayodhya, marriage with Sita, vanquishing the demon Ravan, return from exile, and his coronation—depict his valor, fortitude, courage in adversity, and triumph over evil. Sculptural reliefs on building interiors and exteriors portray the exile of Ram, Sita, and Lakshman. Framing of iconic imagery on walls of temples in the northern part of the outer citadel—Vanvasi, Radhika Bihari, and Panchmukhi, and across the Betwa in Ashok Vatika—occurred in blind windows, niches, and *jharokha*s (protruding balconies). At Vanvasi and Ashok Vatika Temples, sculptural reliefs of Rama and Sita with Hanuman and other figures were carved over the doorway and in the interior wall. The framed imagery was an ever-present reminder of the trials and tribulations faced by *Ramayana* protagonists in the forest during their exile. At Radhika Bihari and Panchmukhi Temples, relief carvings and jharokhas on exterior walls show seated and standing ascetics who sanctified wilderness of its profanity. Although the imagery does not directly represent the natural landscape of the island fort, it alludes to its symbolism through iconic figures, thus creating an auspicious environment for the Bundela rulers to worship and perform rituals in these temples.

Framing of Chaturbhuj Temple, the embodiment of four-armed Vishnu metaphorically represented in the cross-axial plan, occurred through apertures in the *jaali* screens and window openings in the Raja Mahal. The opaqueness and heaviness of the wall gave way to transparency and lightness brought about by its dematerialization through framed openings and screens. As one traversed the corridors on the upper three floors on the western side of the palace, the temple came repeatedly into view, assuring the viewer of the divine presence within it. The landscape of Betwa and cenotaphs on its banks were framed on the southern and eastern walls. Its sacred features—natural and built—were kept continuously in sight, reflecting the dialectical relationship between architecture and landscape wherein one is contained within the other.

CHAPTER 5

Period Eye

A BRIEF LOOK AT THE HISTORY of visual representations of the Taj shows how the picture postcard view of the Taj, viewed from the South Garden, became prominent in the public imagination. Since the complex was built in the mid-seventeenth century, the mausoleum has been the object of wonder and delight but was viewed differently in each era in keeping with the period eye. The Taj was venerated as an object of beauty and perceived to possess sublimity ever since it was built, but its depictions have varied through time. Visual representations are dependent upon not only the medium and technology of representation but also pictorial conventions regarding forms and space. The Mughal emperors saw the Taj from across the River Yamuna, reflected in its waters and the fountains of Mahtab Bagh, and framed in the balconies of the Red Fort. In contrast, Europeans painted it, photographed it, and made it an object of romantic gaze in an exotic setting that confirmed their cultural notions of the Orient. Its image in postcolonial times has been commodified and endlessly reproduced for the sake of virtual consumption, in the process making Taj the most significant tourist destination in India. These modes of representation in colonial and later times have not only shaped perception but also directed restoration efforts.

Islamic visuality guided the design of Mughal buildings and landscapes in India. The visual field was articulated by framing the object—building or landscape—so that it was presented to the eye in its entire splendor.[1] Although this

act of framing (through gateways, windows, screens) separated the subject from the object, it encouraged ways of thinking about how to achieve aesthetic unity within the object of one's gaze, by manipulating the distance between the two. The Taj was a culmination of building experimentation over half a century during which the period eye sought perfection in visual symmetry and balance. This quest for perfect harmony, of paradise on earth, was achieved superbly in the Taj complex, where the building elements and gardens were designed together in a vocabulary of framed alignments that consistently posited the mausoleum as a unified visual composition. Visual unity stemmed from the modular grid layout that integrated building structures and gardens. As Begley demonstrates, the Taj complex fit within a grid of four hundred *gaz* (one *gaz* being 31.546 inches), with the water channels dividing the main *charbagh* located on 100 gaz grid lines.[2] This square grid extended to coordinate the mausoleum and other buildings on the north and the forecourt and other structures on the south. It was carried across the river in the planning of Mahtab Bagh.[3]

While no paintings of the Taj from the Mughal period survive, a visual analysis of the plan of the Taj complex as it was originally built in the seventeenth century reveals a complex geometry of visual relationships between the building and its landscape. The long north-south axis provides the most favored orientation for viewing, along which are multiple gateways and thresholds for the framing and reflection of the Taj. The sighting of the building at each pause, whether at Taj Ganj Gateway, the south gateway, at the pool in the center of the garden, or along the axial pathways, is an experience of complete visual unity in spite of perspectival distortions introduced by distance. The foreshortening of distance produced at the main south gateway contributes to the astonishing effect the Taj has on the visitor when first glimpsed at this entry. The building's reflection in the central raised and elongated shallow pools doubles the visual experience, adding to the perceiver's sensation of the Taj as simultaneously floating and rising.

Ron Lane-Smith shows in his visual analysis of the Taj just how, along the path of approach to the mausoleum, a visual unity of building elements is perceived in two dimensions even though they are separated in depth.[4] The size and placement of the rear *minar*s (towers) appear to be deceptively closer to the front and smaller so that the visage is flattened, as in a painting. From the

south gate the building appears to be much smaller and closer than it actually is because the brilliance of its white marble is heightened in the darkness of the arched opening and the vista shows only half of the distance, the other half being hidden by raised central pool. The plinth of the mausoleum fits perfectly across the arched opening so that the Taj is framed perfectly. The width of the pool along the walkway is such that all of the Taj is captured in reflection, making it a window in the ground plane.

The long north-south axis continued well beyond the Yamuna in Mahtab Bagh. Here a duplication of visual experiences is likely to have been experienced—both framed and reflected. In the large pool with twenty-five fountains and in the river, the Taj would have been reflected in its entirety in the still and flowing water and splintered in the shooting fountain jets. In the arched openings of gateways, the Taj would have been framed, giving a feel for its immediacy. Mahtab Bagh was flooded in the seventeenth century shortly after it was built and was abandoned. It was a walled *charbagh* (of the same dimensions as the South Garden) with a large octagonal pool and a *bangla* pavilion on the riverfront. Although the British used the site as camping grounds, it was not until the 1990s that the site was excavated, jointly by Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Archaeological Survey of India. Elizabeth Moynihan believes that the purpose of the moonlight garden was to view the Taj, its reflection in the river and the pool, and its splintered image in the fountain jets of the octagonal pool.[5]

The Yamuna River on the north, flowing west to east, introduced a cross-axial pattern of movement and another frame of reference within which the sky and water were the dominant framing devices. The river was likely the Emperor Shahjahan's path of movement as he traveled by boat from Agra Fort to visit Mumtaz Mahal's tomb in the Taj. The deliberate location of the mausoleum on the bend in the river ensured long diagonal views, famously framed in Muthamman Burj of the Fort and possibly in the now gone *chattri*s and *burj*es of the many gardens that lined the southern bank.[6] On the northern bank, too, were many visual possibilities for sighting and framing, beginning with the sudden appearance of the Taj at the point where the river takes an eastward bend.[7]

Visual and textual representations by European travelers from the seventeenth century onward brought worldwide fame to the Taj. Visual and textual representations of the Taj by European visitors abound. As Pal points out, the

Taj's fame rests upon paintings and photographs, books, and essays by European visitors that were largely responsible for creating the romance of the Taj by the last quarter of the eighteenth century.[8] European representations were circulated widely, not only resulting in fame for the Taj but also spurring efforts for preservation of the monument and restoration of its gardens. The ideology of conservation, however, derived from the European concept of the beautiful and the picturesque and the inclination to situate the historic monument in an archaeological park, derived from the English landscape garden.

The wide acclaim of the Taj was captured in the prevailing mode of aesthetic discourse in the West with its categories of the beautiful, the sublime, and the picturesque. Although the picturesque aesthetic shaped many arts in England, including painting, landscape gardening, and architecture, its influence is most consistently discerned in landscape paintings where the emphasis on irregularity and asymmetry locates it between classical and romantic landscape aesthetic.[9] The artistic conventions of the period shaped a way of seeing that was carried across the seas to non-European sites. European representations of the Taj did not escape the picturesque convention. The Taj's biaxial symmetry was ignored in favor of views partially hidden by foliage of the South Garden. The diagonal views of the Taj from the riverside caught its full grandeur and monumentality although situated in the midst of an ill-kempt, desolate landscape. Surrounded by ruins of the Mughal era, the Yamuna riverfront, though a repository of historic monuments in these representations, presented an image of a civilization in decay.[10] These images served the orientalist agenda that justified the cause of the colonial rule by reversing decline through European rule and saving India from its headlong journey on the path of ruin.[11]

Although the medium of representation changed from watercolors, aquatints, and oils to photography in the mid-nineteenth century, the picturesque convention held firm ground. The views captured in the aquatints of William Hodges and Thomas and William Daniell were also photographed by Samuel Bourne, Felice Beato, John Murray, and later the Indian photographer Deen Dayal. The frontal view was first painted by Hodges in 1783 followed by Thomas and William Daniell in 1801. Since then this view has been captured a countless number of times, most recently by Antonio Martinelli, who rephotographed the locations visited by the Daniells two hundred years ago.[12] The view of the Taj across the

Yamuna painted by Charles Ramus Forrest in 1824 was photographed in 1858 by Beato, who copied not only the perspective but also the boat motif.[13] Bourne and Deen Dayal photographed the Taj in 1865 and 1884–1888, respectively, from exactly the same spot on the Yamuna riverbank.[14] The exception was the early phase of paintings produced by Indian artists for East India Company patrons that focused on the mausoleum employing a one-point perspective with a painstaking attention to its details.[15]

Burjes in the gardens on the east (Haveli of Khan-i-Dauran and Haveli of Agah Khan) and west (Bagh-i Khan-i Alam) and north (Mahtab Bagh) of the Taj were "repoussoirs" for the Taj Mahal's early picturesque views by painters and photographers.[16] Photography allowed panoramic vistas and aerial views that encompassed a larger slice of the landscape, expanding the cone of vision from the eye-level viewpoint. Panoramas not only expanded the scale, showing the complete monument in a single composition, but also included the surrounding landscape often because of their elevated viewpoint.[17] A photograph taken in the 1880s shows the South Garden to be filled with a dense canopy of trees that would have obscured wide angle views and confined the vista along the north-south axis. The dense planting gave shade to the Agra residents, who had begun to use the Taj grounds for recreation by the early nineteenth century.[18]

Views were, however, opened up in the first decade of the twentieth century at the behest of Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, who took a personal interest in the restoration of the Taj garden. The framing of the Taj by thick vegetation was weakened with the replacement of the cypress with ashoka trees and fruit trees with flowering shrubs and lawn. Although no documentary evidence exists of the original garden, it is likely that "restoration" replaced the green ground cover of clover interspersed with colorful flowerbeds with a carpet of grass. The remnant Mughal garden was now transformed into a colonial version of the English landscape. This not only opened up views to the Taj, making it the sole object in the field of vision, but also introduced banality in the green carpet of the lawn, a neutral foil to its grandiloquence. The Taj could be painted and photographed from all angles as a beautiful building set in a perfectly smooth lawn.[19]

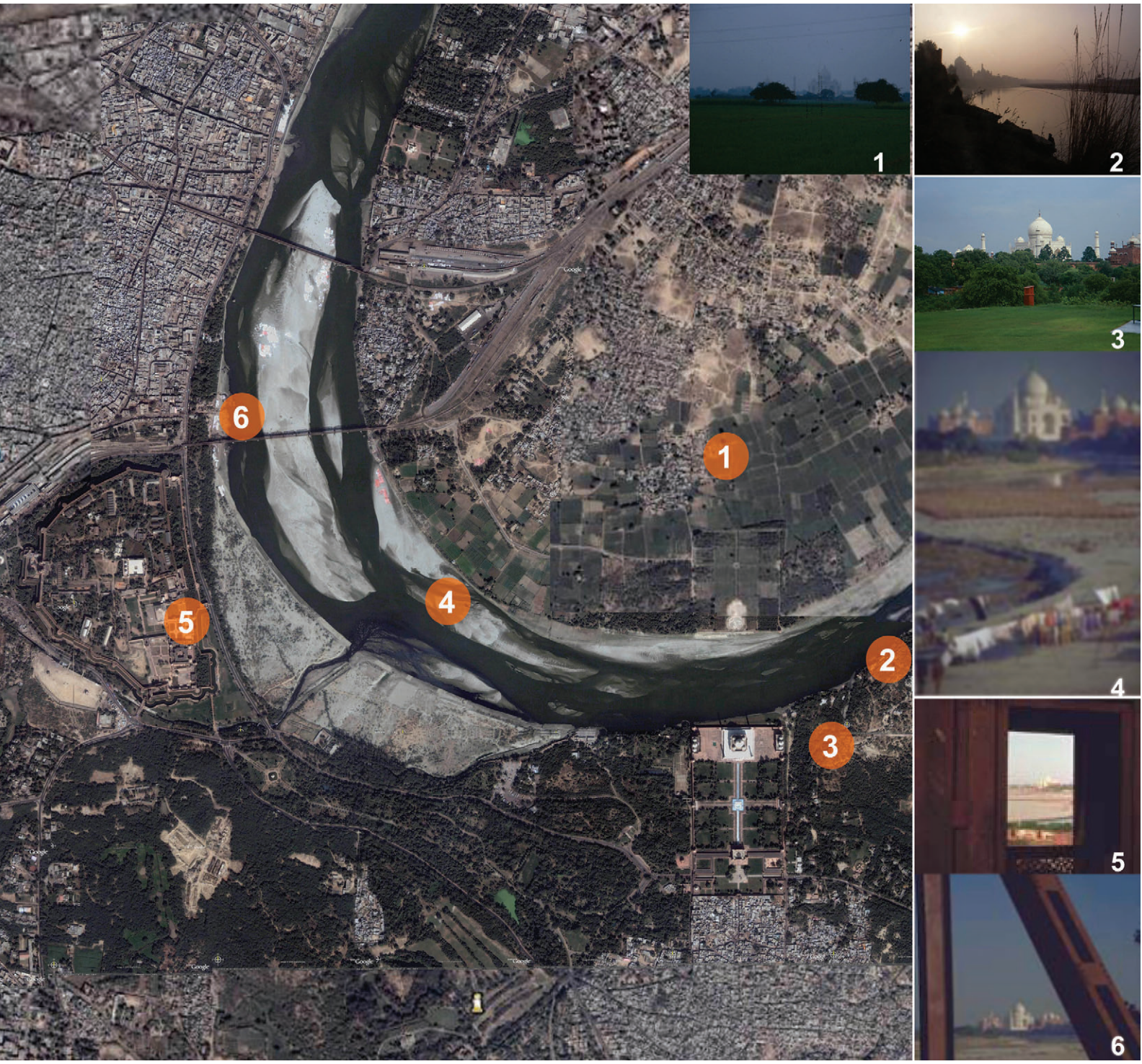
The Taj Mahal is now the subject of a global visual culture that allows image to dominate over meaning. The meanings gathered by the mausoleum over time—a symbol of eternal love of Emperor Shahjahan for his beloved, a personification

of Empress Mumtaz Mahal herself, a representation of perfect beauty, an icon of India, and a sacred structure built in 1643—are supported by a limited set of images. The picture postcard view of the Taj (from the South Garden) is endlessly repeated in print and digital media resulting in visual exhaustion. Ebba Koch describes how the actual experience is diminished: "He or she has seen the building reproduced so often, especially in its classic frontal view, that the encounter with the real structure can produce an effect of déjà vu and the feeling that there is nothing left to discover."[20] The frontal view becomes iconic, taken so easily and mechanistically by the modern tourist and reproduced ad infinitum in print and digital media, it has prevailed over other views. It represents the building as a flattened image, with or without the South Garden, with no depth or shadows, always appearing to be taken at high noon. In nonphotographic reproductions, its visage is reduced to a few essential lines only communicating its silhouette. In medallions, jewelry, china, and in small marble models, the Taj is reduced to an item of display, part of the collection of curiosities. As a logo and brand name for selling tea, food items, and fashion accessories, its iconic image lends itself readily to commercial use.

The objectification and commercialization of the Taj draws upon its symbolic meanings of perfect beauty and eternal love. However, the insistent and often trivial use of Taj imagery succeeds in diluting and negating those very meanings. The Taj simulacrum succeeds in diminishing the possibility of an authentic and complete experience from multiple viewpoints by habituating the viewer to the iconic view, both in expectation and in realization of that expectation. Walter Benjamin's insight that the mechanical reproduction of a work of art when mass produced alienates the viewer from a full and richer appreciation is fully borne out by the contemporary visual culture of the Taj.[21]

This frontal view is also the one captured in personal photography, and thus regarded as *the* view that would edify the tourist's gaze. The tourist seeks sights that she/he has already been exposed to in the media and tourism imagery.[22] Visual representations set up a frame for future and real experiences that guides the tourist's gaze but limit the possibilities of other views and consequently any other appreciation of the beauty of the Taj. The ubiquity of the frontal view has resulted in the detachment of the mausoleum from its cultural landscape, embedded within which are the possibilities of its multiple sightings, therein

FIGURE 5.1. Picture postcard view of the Taj Mahal. Credit: Amita Sinha.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denying its fuller appreciation. The postcolonial era has witnessed the designation of the Taj and the Red Fort nearby (also on the banks of the Yamuna) as UNESCO World Heritage Sites, bringing in ever-increasing number of tourists, the majority of whom experience the Taj only by entering it from the South Garden. Other heritage sites across the river receive a miniscule fraction of the Taj visitors.[23] The Taj is therefore seldom viewed by the average visitor from other than the South Garden.

◁ Figure 5.2. **Sites of Taj views in the landscape. Credit: Amita Sinha.**

PART III

Enactments

> The pilgrim's India reaches back many hundreds of years and brings to us an astonishing picture of a land linked not by the power of kings and governments, but by the footsteps of pilgrims.
>
> **—Diana Eck**

Diana Eck describes the sacred geography of India as clustered and polycentric, a kind of "imagined landscape" revealing a "locative form of religiousness" created by journeys of countless millions of pilgrims. This imagined landscape, celebrated in myths and represented in arts and literature, is a medium for visualization of the divine. The Indic ways of seeing nature and the built environment and remembering through oral storytelling traditions are cultural dispositions or habitus structuring perception and actions.[1] Cultural practices are spatial and central to the making and remaking of landscapes in archetypal images. Ritual enactments are occasions for immersive engagement of the body with the place, facilitating realization of the imagined and thereby the divine in the physical landscape of the here and now. They are "place-making" activities, marking sites and leaving traces in the landscape palimpsest, thereby making it a repository of collective memories. The past comes alive in the present through enacting heritage; that is, engaging in traditional commemorative practices.

Regenerating sacred space in circumambulations and daily and life cycle rituals tied to holy rivers are examples of spatial practices. When pilgrims engage with the landscape—circumambulating natural features—space is produced, a way of seeing is preserved, and nature is experienced at close quarters. The landscape is endowed with great meaning and given shape in the spatial archetype of mandala read metonymically as a symbol of the cosmos. The mandala, ideally a circle, is enacted by pilgrim's feet when they begin their journey from a certain point and arrive back to it. The circle is a symbol of wholeness, and the ideal form is adjusted to the physical terrain.

Pilgrims consecrate the site with their clockwise movement, tracing the auspicious mandala. They engage with the landscape viscerally in walking barefoot, prostrating on the pilgrim path or before sacred objects and deities, bathing in bodies of water, sitting on the ground in temple courtyards and forest clearings for communal singing, and watching performances of myths reenacted. The immersive experiences in the landscape are the bedrock of individual memories and sustain the collective memory of place myths. The landscape is seen, felt, tasted, and inscribed in the body in circumambulations, festivals, and daily worship. It is continuously imprinted and modified by human acts driven by faith and cultural beliefs transmitted from one generation to the next through oral traditions of storytelling, singing, dancing, and dramaturgical performances.

Movement in space occurs in time, and the circle is symbol of both. In the ancient Hindu worldview, the occurrence of natural phenomena is celebrated as manifestation of *rita*, or cosmic order. *Rita*, derived from the Sanskrit root of the verb "to go" or "to move," is believed to underlie the movement of celestial and terrestrial phenomena, of solstices and equinoxes, of flowing rivers and vegetal growth, and the cycle of seasons. The diurnal and seasonal rhythms of natural phenomena express this eternal order that governs human life as well. The traditional belief is that participation in rhythms of nature brings harmony and happiness and reaffirms the universal order. Time is conceived as cyclical as in birth and death of all living entities that are part of nature. It is celebrated in festivals tied to seasons and harvests, and in life cycle rituals.[2] Auspicious time and space are renewed in events at sacred sites commemorating the birth of the cosmos and reincarnation of gods and goddesses. Life cycle rituals, especially at birth and death, are allegorical of cosmic events with the human body equated with cosmos.

Water has been central to the cultural identity of Indic civilizations. The ancient Indo-Gangetic civilization and the late medieval *Ganga-Jumna Sanskriti* are named after regional cultures that evolved with the rivers playing a central role. Among natural elements, water has been the most significant in mythology, rituals, and in shaping the built environment. It pervades the cultural fabric providing form and meaning to every aspect of Hindu life. For Indic cultures, as obsessed with ritual purity and pollution as they are, water is a purifying agent par excellence, elevated from the level of basic necessity to that of a moral imperative in leading a virtuous life. Part of every sacred landscape and every religious ritual, its experience and meaning have deeply penetrated the cultural psyche. An elaborate design vocabulary of built forms in public and community spaces has emerged over time, ensuring that daily life revolved around water collection and use. The circumambulatory journeys of pilgrims usually begin at a holy body of water and they halt at other bodies of water for bathing and resting. In felicitation and cremation rites on the *ghat*s on holy rivers, the landscape becomes a situated event, formed by natural processes—flooding, silting, and changing flow of the river—and cultural practices—ritual activities and performances. Diurnal and seasonal rhythms are celebrated in placemaking events.

CHAPTER 6

Immersion

The great rivers of the Indo-Gangetic plain in northern India have inspired a way of seeing, imagining, and celebrating the life-enhancing powers of water as perhaps no other rivers in the world have. Conceived of as flowing *axis mundi*, connecting this world and others, the Ganga and Yamuna have attracted myths and legends celebrating their descent to earth, and association with the supreme gods of Hinduism—Shiva and Vishnu's *avatar*, Krishna. Great cities and holy pilgrim towns have sprung up on their banks, attracting large numbers of pilgrims. Ganga and Yamuna riverfronts are the subject and setting of living cultural traditions giving meaning to daily lives of millions of believers. The rivers are worshipped for their life-giving and protective powers and bathed in for spiritual and bodily purification. Their iconic representations in visual arts and in oral and literary traditions are rich cultural heritage, kept alive and transmitted from one generation to the next through oral traditions of storytelling in songs and dramaturgical performances. But it is the landscape itself—the phenomenal form of Ganga and Yamuna—that has the greatest impact on shaping place memory.

On the banks of Ganga in Varanasi, the sun and the river are central to spatial practices and are worshipped as transcendent divine entities made immanent through their material form and physical presence. As symbols of natural archetypes of fire and water, they are sources of energy that create and sustain all life.

Ganga, whose name derives from the Sanskirt verb *gam*, meaning "to go," is the prime symbol of purity in her capacity to cleanse and purify through her flow. She is liquid *shakti* (energy) as Shiva's consort and life sustaining as the mother's milk, known as Ganga Ma.[1] Her descent to earth nurtures millions living in the plains of northern India. As a divine goddess and a flowing river that purifies all that it touches, the Ganga's spiritual and phenomenal forms are mutually constituted. The sun, worshipped as *aditya*, generates life as a source of light and heat. Its movements in the sky known as *uttarayana* and *dakshinayana*, beginning with the winter and summer solstices, are an expression of *rita*, bringing forth the seasons. Similarly, the moon's waxing and waning, symbolic of death and renewal, is the basis of the lunar calendar in which the month is divided into auspicious (*shukla-paksh*) and inauspicious (*krishna-parksh*) halves.

At the *ghat*s, time, space, and cultural practices come together in commemorating divine nature and engaging with in its material forms.[2] The Ganga liberates one from the cycle of death and rebirth when cremation occurs on her banks. Circadian rhythms are affirmed in daily worship of the sun at dawn and in the evening *aarti* (waving of lamps) to Ganga. Shrines to Aditya, the sun god, on the western bank were located to align with the sun's position in the sky, marking *yantra*s, thereby inscribing a certain order in the landscape.[3] Most of these shrines are now lost, but a few remain, and their tanks are used for bathing on the auspicious occasion of Makar Sankranti (January 14), when the sun begins its northward journey. In accordance with the lunar calendar, festivals such as Ganga Dusshera (commemorating the descent of Ganga), Mahashivaratri (celebrating the marriage of Shiva, whose matted locks broke Ganga's fall), and Deva Deepavali (festivals of the gods) are celebrated. On these festive occasions devotees take a dip in the holy waters and the ghats are lit with lamps.[4]

The visually arresting unfolding panoramic views of the ghats from the river have dominated representations of the holy city of Varanasi in paintings and photographs. The earliest picturesque views, romanticizing decay through the passage of time, were captured in James Prinsep's engravings in the 1830s.[5] These images influenced subsequent representations of the ghat skyline inextricably linked to the city's identity. Sky and water frame the ghats in long views while details become apparent in closeups of the river's edge. Picture maps produced in the late nineteenth century in Varanasi on cloth and in print show the ghat

panoramas in long scrolls.[6] The visual order appears to be complex, based on irregular repetition of prototypical design elements; a dominance of saffron, red, and beige in the colors of religious and historic buildings; and cream flat-roofed residential buildings of the old city. In zoomed-in photographs of ghats and landings the focus is on people, their activities, and religious paraphernalia since distant views can be framed only at thresholds where streets enter ghats or from the open, airy pavilions and *jharokha*s (balconies) on the upper floors of historic buildings.

The cultural landscape of ghats should be interpreted not just as a picturesque view but as a situated event, of text enacted and performed, and experienced through all the senses. Social events centered on the Ganga involve the visitor in varying degrees of participation in ritual activities. The experience on the ghats is immersive, consisting of a combination of visual, kinesthetic, haptic, proprioceptive, acoustic, and olfactory perceptions. The embodied perception is responsible for a heightened awareness of the environment, inducing (syn) aesthesia, setting free the imagination, and provoking memories and mental associations, and is accompanied with altered moods and feelings. While the picturesque view or its representation is primarily a visual experience and associated with nostalgia, the idea of the landscape as a situated event communicates the dynamic quality of sensation, cognition, and emotion merging seamlessly in embodied perception. The ghats are defined by the quality of the aesthetic experience, an intensified version of the everyday.

The formal and spatial language of the ghats is activated in everyday spatial practices bringing vitality to the riverfront. The design vocabulary of the ghats is similar everywhere yet the landscapes as constituted by events are different and carry profound meanings about the role of Ganga in sustaining life, removing pollution, and promising liberation from the cycle of death and life. Cultural practices are spatial in that they are defined by places; built forms and practices mutually constitute and impact the cultural landscape.[7] Steps and landings, pavilions, platforms, shrines, and niches become behavior settings and loci of activities that are congruent with formal language of the ghats. Steps to the river facilitate bathing and other rituals centered on the holy waters and washing clothes, while those above the landings are used as sitting spaces to watch public life. The tops of *marhi*s (platforms) seat groups in a circle suggested by

the octagonal shape; the interiors of hollow ones could be changing rooms or a shop. Movable platforms are used for rituals, massages, and selling trinkets and religious paraphernalia, and as performance stages. These social rhythms are tied to circadian rhythms experienced in the body in temporalized space in everyday life.[8] The patterns of ritual and recreational activities have a diurnal rhythm tied with interaction with the river—bathing and worshipping the sun at dawn and early morning, washing and cleaning in late mornings and afternoons, leisure activities in the evenings, and aarti to Ganga at dusk.

In Hindu and Buddhist thought, all matter consists of five constituent elements (*panchmahabhuta*)—earth (*prithvi*), fire (*agni*), water (*jal*), air (*vayu*), and ether (*akash*). They are associated with and sometimes interchangeable with *tattvas*, meaning "thatness," or sensorial qualities of physical matter—for example, ether is synonymous with space experienced in hearing; air with movement felt in touch; fire with energy (*tejas*) experienced in form (*rupa*) through sight; water with fluidity (*apas*) tasted as *rasa*; earth with solidity smelled as *gandh*. Fire and water are believed to be complementary principles; sun, the energizing cosmic force, governs fire; and moon, the symbol of nourishment, rules over water. Tattvas as conceptual abstractions of sensations are thought to be the basis of all experience and consciousness.

This way of understanding the connection between matter and consciousness threads through the French writer Gaston Bachelard's writings on poetic imagination. Following the Swiss psychologist Carl Jung, he calls the four elements—fire, water, air, and earth—of ancient Greek philosophy and medieval alchemy natural archetypes, rooted in the human collective unconscious, and discerned through images.[9] His exhaustive studies of meanings of literary images of fire and water revealed them to be the source of "material imagination."[10] Fire and water share meanings of purity, life, and death; fire as a masculine principle representing strength and courage and as a source of light symbolic of enlightenment is complemented by the feminine character of water expressed in maternal images.[11] Bachelard wrote about the capacity of elements to induce reverie, a state of mind produced by the awakening of senses, in which the imagination gets free play and creates new images.[12]

Fire and water are sources of rich iconography in Hindu mythology, associated with life-giving powers as well as destruction in cosmic conflagration at

the end of time. The sun, the divine symbol of fire in the sky, is worshipped as it rises out of the Ganga every morning, bringing the end to darkness. The location of solar shrines on the ghats corresponds sun's position in solstices and equinoxes, prompting devotees to bathe in the *kund*s and worship the sun at the shrine located close by.[13] Ganga, the supreme symbol of archetypal waters, purifies and sanctifies, washing away physical dirt and moral sins. She is mother, Ganga Ma, and a young maiden, consort of Shiva, who slows her descent from heavens, catching her in his locks to break her tumult. Ganga invites rich visual and tactile experiences in everyday humdrum activities, and ritual bathing at festivals and life cycle events. Immersion in the Ganga by millions on auspicious days is a grand spectacle on the ghats.

Fire offered to the Ganga in the aarti and in cremation is the symbol of archetypal fire. It signifies the germination of life and burns away the impurities. The ghats are an urban mise-en-scène where not only the drama of everyday life but also death and celebration of life plays out. Aarti—daily felicitation to the Ganga—and cremation occur on the riverfront, most spectacularly at Dashashwamedh and Manikarnika Ghats, attracting large crowds. In life and death processes considered to be polluting in Hinduism, fire and water are purifying agents, and they are part of both events. Ganga is venerated with fire (as are other gods and goddesses) and on the ghats the faithful worship at dawn the rising sun. It is believed that life symbolically begins when sunrays strike ancient bodies of water such as Lolarka Kund on Assi Ghat. Fire is the agent of destruction—mortal remains of a Hindu are cremated on the riverbank, in the belief that Ganga will purify the pollution associated with death.

The homology between body and cosmos in Hindu thought implies equivalence between individual death and apocalypse (*pralay*), Jonathan Parry points out.[14] At Manikarnika Ghat, shared by Vishnu and Shiva, the individual cremation is a sacrificial fire, leading to rebirth, and mimetic of cosmogony occurring through sacrifice. The dismemberment of the corpse in fire is necessary for its reconstitution (as funerary rituals indicate) in another body, similar to the re-creation of universe (*shristi*) after its end through conflagration. Manikarnika Ghat, popularly known as the burning ghat where the funeral pyres never die out, is thus outside of time, signifying the perpetual cycle of destruction followed by creation, in which fire is the chief agent. It is instantly recognizable by

its smoking fires, soot-covered buildings, and stacks of wood piled on boats and landings. As the center of the three-mile-long sweep of the ghat stretch, it has the sacred kund dug by Lord Vishnu and the cremation ground, symbolic of the universe burning at the end of time. It is the abode of Shiva, who presides over *mahashamshan*, the great cremation ground. He is known as Tarekshwar, the one who whispers the *tarak mantra* in the ears of the dying. Although Shiva is the reigning deity of this ghat, Vishnu shares the place, as attested by his footprints and Manikarnika Kund, the site of his austerities.[15] The myth describing the co-existence of both gods is allegorical of the Hindu belief that creation is preceded by destruction. Manikarnika Ghat distills all of Varanasi's sacred energies in its waters of creation and fires of destruction.

Although the ghat has been a popular subject of representations, having been sketched and photographed extensively in the last two centuries, only a few historic facts are known about it. Its fame was well established in medical times, as attested by the fifteenth-century text *Kashikhanda*, which describes it as the place where people surrender their earthly bodies and become one with Shiva. It was the first embankment to be clad in stone in the thirteenth century although its temples were built in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. At the river edge are many square platforms, solid and well as hollow with niches where *linga*s are washed by the Ganga, with poles with canvas strung above them as shade structures. The visual order is layered and complex with temple spires, flat-roofed pavilions, aedicular shrines, and platforms built on the sloping embankment.

Some people die in hospices on the *ghat*s; others are brought from the city and nearby villages, their bodies carried on bamboo poles on the shoulders of mourners. After being washed in the Ganga, the cremation ritual commences —the eldest son circumambulates the body five times and puts the fire taken from the *doms* into the mouth. Midway through the burning, the skull is broken with a wooden pole in the ritual *kapal kriya*, for the soul to escape. As the fires die down, the son breaks a clay water pot and walks away without turning back. The ashes are gathered from the funeral pyre and immersed into the Ganga.

There are three ways of perceiving the event—on the boat, in the lanes, and from the terraces above.[16] In all cases the perception is embodied; that is, the landscape is sensed in the body even if one is not physically present on the ghat. For visitors not directly engaged in ritual activities, this landscape is a spectacle

and death rituals are an unintended performance. Manikarnika Ghat appears as a stage set in a theater of death where the drama of the end of life plays out. On the moving boat, as the smoking pyres and grimy temple towers come into view, attention is focused almost involuntarily. The scene arranges itself to the eyes—sandstone buildings describe a concave arc because of the slight curvature of the riverbed, behind which rise the cream and whitewashed new buildings of Varanasi. There are many lines of sight because of landings and terraces at different levels; in addition, the boat is a floating space, on which sightlines move continuously with its movement. On coming closer, one sees men—but no women—in small groups, bodies lying on the ground waiting to be cremated, burning bodies, and fires being stoked. Spectators, including the bereaved, watch impassively while tourists on boats watch curiously, clicking photographs. Fire seems to be erupting here and there; each fire creates a space around it, a zone of intense heat and flying embers, the air thick with smoke.

Walking through the lanes of Varanasi toward the ghat is a somewhat different experience, with all the senses assailed. Dead bodies are being carried on the shoulders of men who chant, "*Ram naam satya hai*" (God's name is truth). Wood is stacked everywhere, small shops in every nook and cranny are selling incense, flowers, and other ritual items. Olfactory, acoustic, and kinesthetic geographies created from activities and ritual paraphernalia are intensely stimulating. One can see cremation up close as it occurs on an upper terrace. Broken clay pots, roaming cows and goats, and temple spires are props and backdrop to the central event—cremation—in which the visitor participates as a voyeur. A few tourists find their way to the top floor of an abandoned building, and from this vantage point the scene arranges itself in a different composition. Cremation fires, onlookers, animals, locals fishing for jewels in the ashes, and boats on the Ganga are seen from above, the composition shifting with their movement. The three points of view capture different facets of the urban mise-en-scène in which landscape becomes the situated event with space generated through movement of fire, smoke, people, and animals.

The largest and most popular of celebrations occurs every evening at Dashashwamedh Ghat, drawing large crowds of visitors. Aarti to Ganga is a performance for about thirty minutes at dusk by a local organization called Ganga Sewa Nidhi. Fire is the key element here as well, but unlike Manikarnika Ghat,

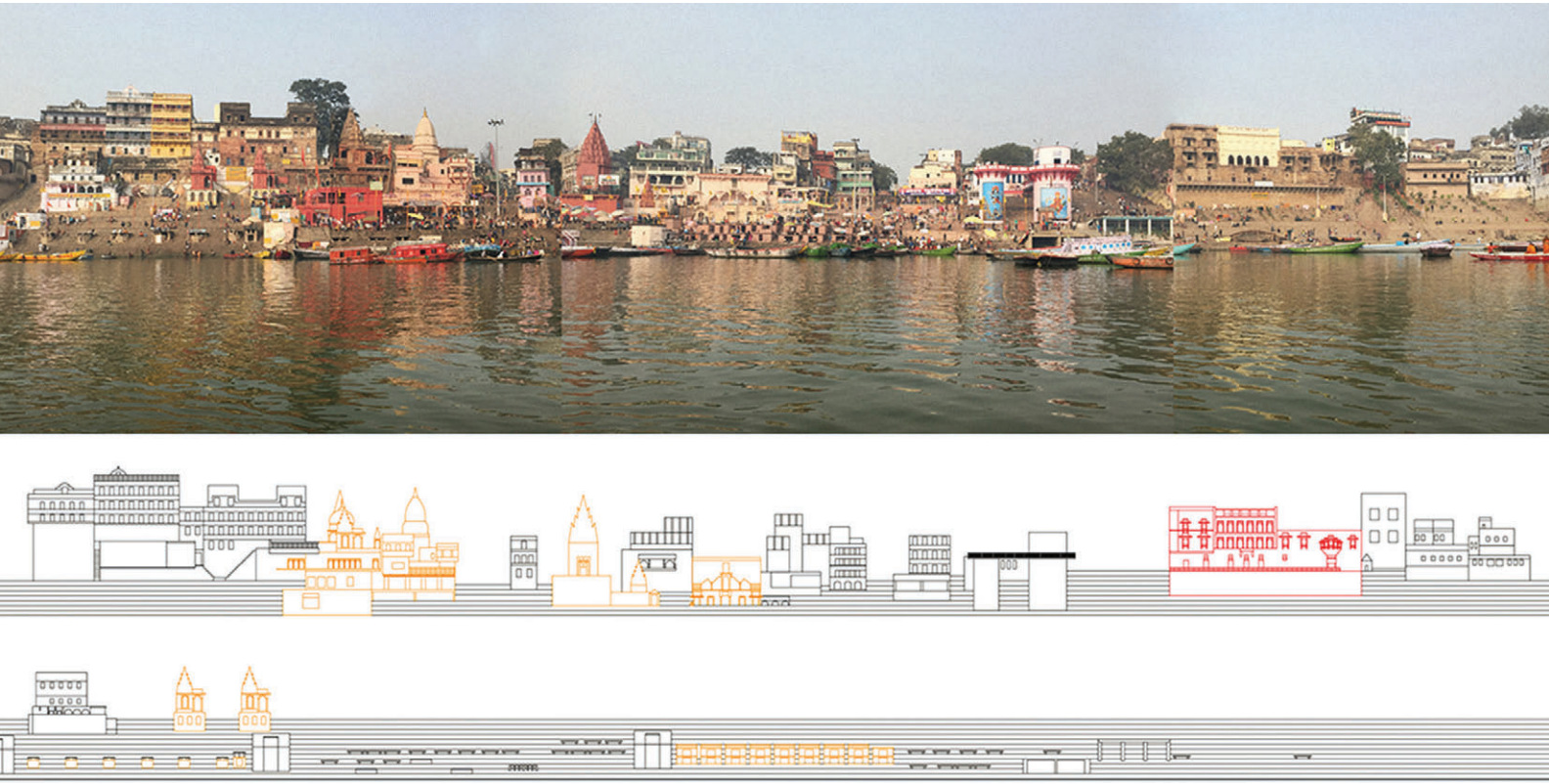


FIGURE 6.1. **Varanasi ghats. Credit: Yini Chen.**

where it is a conflagration consuming the body, here it is an oblation offered to the Ganga as a visible reminder of how life begins. Dashashwamedh Ghat is a popular ghat—one of the main roads of Varanasi bifurcates on either side of a large produce market and turns into steps leading down to the river's edge. It is named after the sacrifice of ten horses performed by the creator of universe, Brahma. The archetypal act was repeated by rulers, most notably by the second-century dynasty of Bara Shiva Nagas. It is believed that by bathing at this ghat one reaps the benefit of this ancient sacrificial act performed by gods and kings. Its design grammar is similar to that of other ghats—the edge is activated by hollow and solid octagonal platforms; in addition, there are semi-fixed

FIGURE 6.2. Manikarnika Ghat. Credit: Amita Sinha.

platforms on landings that are hubs of activities. Niches containing Ganga and Shiva deities activate the vertical plane.

As dusk falls, activities cease and for a brief period the ghat is transformed into a spectacle. Two groups of young male priests prepare the wooden platforms in two stretches for the aarti ceremony. The platforms become stage sets for a choreographed event performed in unison. This involves invoking the presence of Ganga and venerating her prowess by singing her glories. Sounds of conches, drums, and bells accompany the song sung by accomplished singers and blared over loudspeakers. Peacock feathers and fly whisks sweep the air; incense and camphor in brass pots are waved in circular motions as if the priest performer is inscribing a mandala in space with his gesture. Lastly, fire in tiered brass lamps is offered to the Ganga with uplifted arms. Then the priests prostrate themselves before the iconic (statue) and phenomenal (river) forms of the Ganga, paying her obeisance. Gestures, posture, and clothing dramatize their actions.

The audience has multiple points of view to observe the ceremony. They can see the aarti from above, from steps, balconies, and terraces of adjoining buildings, from below on the boats, and at the same level as the performance by sitting on the landing and steps. In standing or sitting close to the performance, the viewer is immersed in acoustic space created from singing and music as sounds emanating from the river's edge describe the acoustic horizon stretching over the ghats and the Ganga. From the boat, the aarti is even more of a spectacle; the viewer looks up to see the performers outlined against the steps and buildings. The linear edge is transformed into a stage with the river and ghats revolving around it, a dynamic landscape in perception. By floating candles in leaves on the Ganga, one is participating in the veneration ritual; by cupping hands over the burning wick in the *diya* (small leafy cup), one is imbibing its energy.

Embodied perception is the building block of emotions. Moods and feelings are emotions if they are temporally extended; that is, if they are not fleeting, and develop over time, integrating memory, imagination, and knowledge. Emotions elevated to spiritual state, characterized by detachment, are believed to be the bedrock of aesthetic experience across cultures.[17] This understanding neglects the somatic basis of emotions. In participating in the aarti at Dashashwamedh Ghat, listening to songs, cupping hands over the flame, following the movements of performers as they prostrate, kneel, and raise and fold their hands, the sensations

FIGURE 6.3. Dashashwamedh Ghat. Credit: Amita Sinha.

Figure 6.4. Aarti at Dashashwamedh Ghat. Credit: Amita Sinha.

combine in creating a vivid immersive experience of being aware, feeling the performance in the moment, in *praesent*.[18] Touch, hapticity, proprioception—the proximate senses—become as dominant as the distant—hearing and seeing. Embodied perception is subjective, varying in its affective impact among individuals, but it rests upon the shared substratum consisting of sensations experienced by the body. In (syn)aesthetic experience, "a *felt* appreciation of 'making sense' in a semantic and cerebral fashion and *sense*-making, understanding through somatic, embodied perception via *feeling* (both sensory and emotional) created in performance" occur.[19]

The priest performers paying homage to Ganga in their stylized gestures and postures in synchronization with live music enact *bhakti bhav* (feeling of devotion), and a devotee is likely to share it. The crowd collectively feels the energy and even those unfamiliar with the tradition are mesmerized by the spectacle. Cremation is a spectacle at Manikarnika Ghat, too. There is heightened awareness of the environment—heat and smoke from burning bodies is viscerally felt if one is close enough but distant views of the fires are also haptically felt in embodied perception. The melancholic feeling shared among the mourners is all too evident in their facial expressions and postures. Visitors may respond through "embodied simulation," through empathy created by motor circuits or mirror neuron systems in the brain that become active when one sees others performing an action.[20] Cremation in the public space incites curiosity, anxiety, fear, and unease—a mix of emotions, difficult to clearly articulate, but an aesthetic experience nonetheless. Interviews with German, Norwegian, French, and Finnish tourists in January 2015 on the ghats revealed their fascination with the "burning ghat" whose meanings are not well understood. A few remarked that the sight of burning bodies was something never experienced in the West, where death is a private affair.

CHAPTER 7

Circumambulation

Circumambulation is an ancient spatial practice of walking in a clockwise direction to demarcate a field of energy. The circular movement patterns during pilgrimage inscribe paths underlying an urban structure periodically activated to generate a mandala, symbol of the entire universe. The territorial boundary of the sacred site is not a line but a zone, a linear constellation of places found and given form in the archetypal design language and linked by a path. Although pilgrimage takes many forms in Hinduism it is essentially a circumambulation of sacred foci. The path connecting sacred sites for pilgrims to walk on a journey beginning and ending at the symbolic center expresses the archetype of the way whose meanings are about direction and orientation in finding a place.

BRAJ

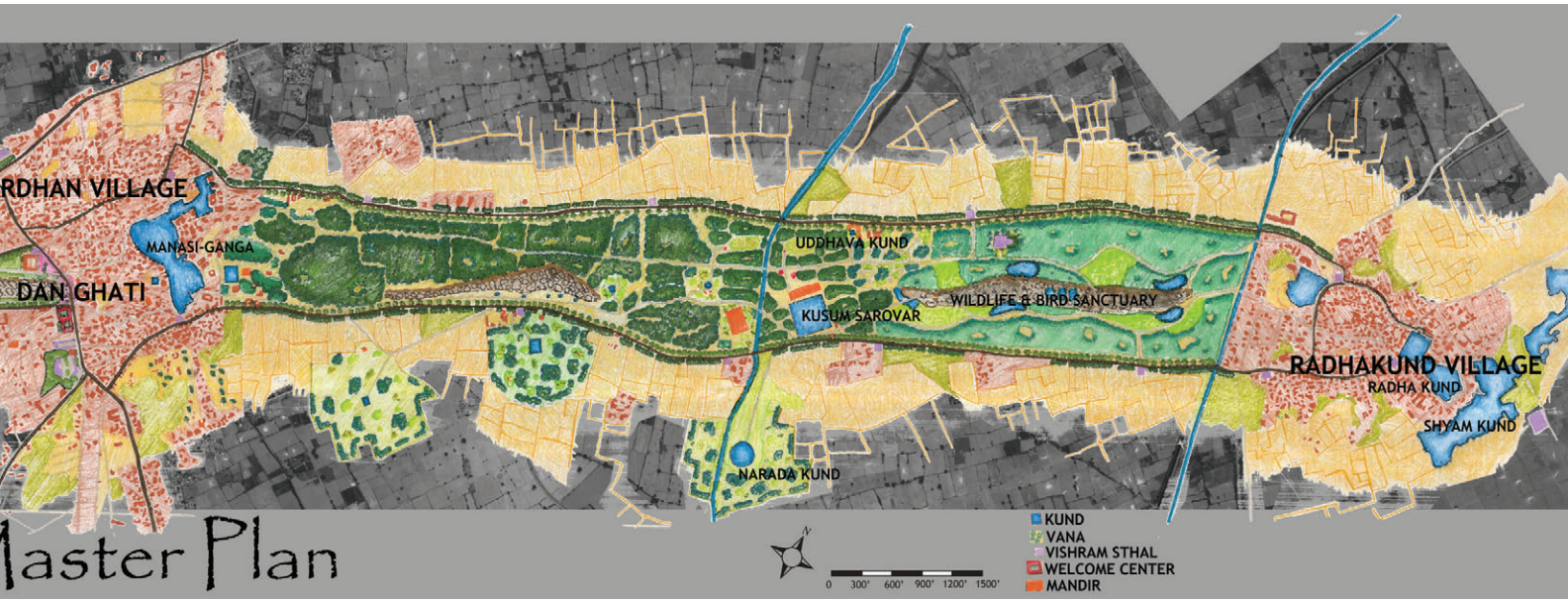
The mandala is enacted in events in which the landscape is configured anew through spatial practice. The Braj mandala is popularly conceived as a lotus with its petals representing the twelve great forests surrounding Mathura, where Krishna was born.[1] Pilgrims form a floating population, many times the number of local residents, as they arrive throughout the year but especially during the monsoon season to do their *ban yatra* (forest journey), walking for more than two

FIGURE 7.1. **Master plan of Govardhan Hill. Credit: Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.**

hundred miles in three to four weeks. This involves the circumambulatory tour (*parikrama*) of the landscape through forests, groves, and ponds, as well as the holy cities of Mathura and Vrindavan. Their journey, like pilgrimage elsewhere in the world, is in pursuit of universal goals of fulfillment of vows and gaining spiritual merit, in this case through visualizing the allegorical landscape.

Scholarship on Braj has emphasized the (re)construction of sacred landscape in pilgrimage and continuing enactment of rituals that affirm an idealized vision of that landscape.[2] Human habitation and movement inscribe the landscape that in turn imprints the body of the pilgrim. Enactment of traditions have kept myths alive, making possible the realization of the imagined landscape in the here and now. The physical setting and its signs and markers are tangible reminders of Braj's mythic past. They are cues for ritual enactments that visualize and affirm one's relationship with the divine in sensual, embodied perception.

The parikrama of Govardhan Hill is the primary way of experiencing the



landscape—there is no reaching a center as the climactic event of a journey but rather a series of places (*kund*s, shrines, *van*) are visited on the way in a clockwise journey.[3] Although the landscape has faced deforestation in recent times, groves survive around bodies of water and as many as twenty-three sites on the pilgrimage circuit represent the archetypal configuration of temple/shrine, kund and van. The aches and pains of walking the landscape are visceral, as is the exhilaration of completing the fourteen-mile route, some doing it by repeated full-body prostrations on the ground in *dandauti parikrama*.[4] The heightened sensory input is conducive to "seeing" an imagined landscape where Krishna is the central figure in a heroic or playful role. As Rebecca Solnit points out, walking the outer landscape could be a journey through the interor landscape of the mind: "The rhythm of walking generates a kind of rhythm of thinking, and the passage through a landscape echoes or stimulates the passage through a series of thoughts. This creates an odd consonance between external passage, one that suggests that the mind is also a landscape of sorts and that walking is one way to traverse it."[5]

FIGURE 7.2. Pilgrim doing *dandauti parikrama*. Credit: Amita Sinha.

The multisensorial experiences—visual, haptic, acoustic, and olfactory—induce heightened awareness while walking, prostrating, touching the sacred stones and feet of deities, taking a dip in kunds, and singing songs of divine glory. The landscape bolsters the psychological state of mind as devotional feelings are intensified by watching the *raas lila* in the garden grove. The body's total engagement with the environment, immersing it in sights, sounds, and smells, brings about an amplified perception of space where time appears to be suspended.

There is no separating Krishna from the landscape and the telling and retelling of myths ground and reaffirm his presence. The inwardly oriented sanctuary—kund in van—becomes a contemplative landscape, an exterior symbol of the interior image in the heart.[6] Visual representations—temple icons, popular art of *jhankis* (tableau), *sanjhi* (floral art and sand paintings), posters, and *chitrapat* (cloth hangings)—are mnemonic aids in building cultural memory. But the landscape itself has the greatest impact on shaping place-based cultural memory as Donlyn Lyndon points out: "Spaces becomes memorable in two ways: through formal structures with special coherence or power, and through events that take place rooted in a location—events that happen with such intensity, or are so frequently repeated, that they lend vividness to what surrounds them and invoke our memories of that place."[7]

PANCHKROSHI IN VARANASI

In Varanasi, the popular *panchkroshi parikrama* (*panch* is five; five *krosha* is 17.6 kilometers) is a circumambulatory journey around the Kashi *kshetra*.[8] The Sanskrit term *kshetra*, meaning a region or field, connotes a demarcated territory, marked by center and periphery. The center of the sacred territory of Kashi is the *jyotirlinga*, the *linga* of light extending over five *krosha*s, and its periphery is a path traversed repeatedly by the pilgrim to reenact marking the boundary though movement. This boundary has persisted in the inherited tradition of circumambulation and has proved to be longer-lasting than any physical structure. Panchkroshi pilgrimage expands the concept of cultural landscape beyond the material fabric to an embodied experience of path and place in time. It physically enacts the boundary of the sacred territory, thus preserving collective

memories of Kashi kshetra as a sacred region wrested out of wilderness to make a home for gods.

The light cast over the region by the jyotirlinga metaphorically illuminates the territory and those living there. The sixth-century *Skandapurana* describes Kashi kshetra as a *siddhikshetra* or *tapalikshetra* where ascetics strive for enlightenment through penance. *Kurma Purana* describes Kashi as *Anandavan* or *Anandkanan*, forest of bliss where Shiva lingas are everywhere. Sages established their *ashrams* (hermitages) in the wilderness, transforming it into a *tapovan*, a forest of penance. To wrest a sanctified territory from the dangerous wilderness was a continuing process in which hermits and householders participated, the latter by propitiating the protective deities of the periphery as they circumambulated the Kashi kshetra.

The mandala forms range from the perfect circle to the family of square and rectangular shapes evident in city layout, and temple and water architecture. The circle and the square express the spatial archetypes of the great round and the four quarters respectively. The kshetra is imagined as the "great round," the spatial archetype signifying wholeness or totality. It is symbolic of the feminine principle of the great goddess expressed in myths, art, and architecture of cultures that integrated nature and its cyclic rhythms in all aspects of life.[9] It is sacred because it is a fertile field, symbol of mother earth, and associated with life, procreation and growth.

While the kshetra is the circular *parimandala* of the Vedic period, symbol of the feminine principle, the city is represented by a square, symbol of the masculine principle.[10] The built city as the house of gods is embedded within the kshetra, the germinating field of mother earth. The image of the circle persisted as a potent force even as the focus shifted to male gods in city-states of the bronze age. Denis Cosgrove describes the universal significance of the circle: "For Pythagoreans, geometry is prior to human imagination and terrestrial needs; it is cosmic and divine. Geometry is regarded as the key constructional principle of the cosmos, bringing the unity of the One out of original, lightless chaos in the form of the circle."[11]

The axial coordinates north/south, east/west or along the northeast/southwest and southeast/northwest diagonals fix the center in the four-quarters mandala. This mandala is the symbol of the Lord of the Four Quarters in mythology,

birth of the hero and of the ego as the central reference point in psyche, creating self-versus-other duality.[12] Space is articulated into eight cardinal and intermediate directions of the compass, each protected by a guardian deity. The squaring of the circle integrates the masculine and feminine principles in an archetypal form in architecture and art.

When adjusted to the topographical reality the ideal imagery of mandala forms—circular, quadrangular, and concentric—assumes somewhat different shapes.[13] Historic circumstances have also affected realization of the ideal image. The kshetra is imagined as a circular mandala around the quadrangular form of the Avimukta settlement (literally, "never forsaken by Shiva") in Varanasi. The outer panchkroshi route is a bandlike linear landscape with places found, abandoned, and reclaimed over centuries. The route of panchkroshi pilgrimage is believed to have existed since at least the thirteenth century, as attested by *Kashikhanda*, and is a historic landscape subject to temporal exigencies in the cycle of dereliction and reclamation of its sacred sites.

The panchkroshi landscape in Varanasi expresses the archetypal image of the temple/shrine on the edge of the pond/water tank situated in the tree grove. With the exception of Kardameshvar, the first night halt of the pilgrim, few historic traces remain since the places were reclaimed repeatedly. Legends and place names are a clue to their origin in the tapovan established by ancient sages to combat the dangers of wilderness at the margins of the Kashi kshetra. The tree grove with a pond was the idyllic site where linga shrines were established and hermitages built. The practice can be traced to ancient times—Varanasi was described as the abode of ascetics and yogis in *Skandapurana*.[14] The pilgrim halts of Kardameshvar and Kapildhara, for example, were named, respectively, after sages Kardam and his son Kapila, the founder of *sankhya* philosophical tradition. Rameshvar, the pilgrim halt on the banks of the River Varana, is believed to be *tapobhumi* (land of penance), and the site of sage Nahusa's hermitage.

Water is of great significance in Hinduism in its capacity to remove physical and moral pollution and is thus a central feature of the panchkroshi landscape. The significance of water as the source of life is affirmed at the center of Kashi kshetra at the Jnanavapi well (well of wisdom containing primordial waters) adjacent to the Visvanath temple in *antargriha* complex. The boundary of the sacred Kashi kshetra is a place for regaining purity literally and symbolically by taking

a dip in the holy waters of *kupa* (well), kund (tank), and *talao* (pond), named after sages and deities. Kardama Kund and Kupa at Kardameshvar, Gandharva Sagar at Bhimchandi, Draupadi Kund and Kupa at Shivpur, and Kapiladhara Kund at the five major halting stations, in addition to those at other sites, are examples of water structures on the panchkroshi route.

Panchkroshi pilgrimage is undertaken during Shivaratri ("night of Lord Shiva") and Phagun (February/March), Chaitra (March/April), and Baisakh (April/May). It is especially meritorious in the intercalary month (known as *malmasa*, meaning "polluted"; also Adhik Maas, extra month), added every third year between July and September to align lunar and solar calendars. Ekadashi (the eleventh lunar day in the two lunar phases of the Hindu calendar month) and Purnima (full moon lunar day) are auspicious days for completing it. Lived spaces of the panchkroshi pilgrimage are places practiced thus structuring a spatio-temporal urban order. The landscape is produced by and sustains traditional spatial practices—circumambulation and bathing—purificatory for the body and soul. Pilgrimage is believed to purify the polluted time and bring the highest form of merit. As such, bathing in a sacred body of water—tank, pond, or river—is of great importance in removing pollution of body, space, and time.

The cultural landscape of the panchkroshi parikrama is dynamic, evolving with the spatial practices of pilgrims as they worship, bathe, and participate in festivals and dramatic performances. It is experienced as a situated event. The journey typically takes six days with a night halt at each of the five *sthan*s, although it is abbreviated to a day during Shivaratri. Pilgrims begin their journey by taking a vow (*sankalp lena*) at the shrine of Dhundhiraj Ganesh near the Visvanath Temple in antargriha. As they move clockwise along the riverbank and then turning to land, they rest overnight at the five sthans. Each day the journey begins with taking bath in the kund and worshipping at the shrine before dawn to avoid walking in the hot sun to reach the next sthan.

Pilgrims stay overnight in *dharmashala*s or camp out in open space under trees and near kunds and cook their food—wheat flour balls and brinjal—over makeshift fires. They gather in the temple courtyards to sing, watch Ramlila performance, and hear religious discourses. They scatter barley in the last leg of their journey beginning at the Jau Vinayaka temple at the confluence of Ganga and Varana, symbolically affirming the germinating field of the sacred kshetra.

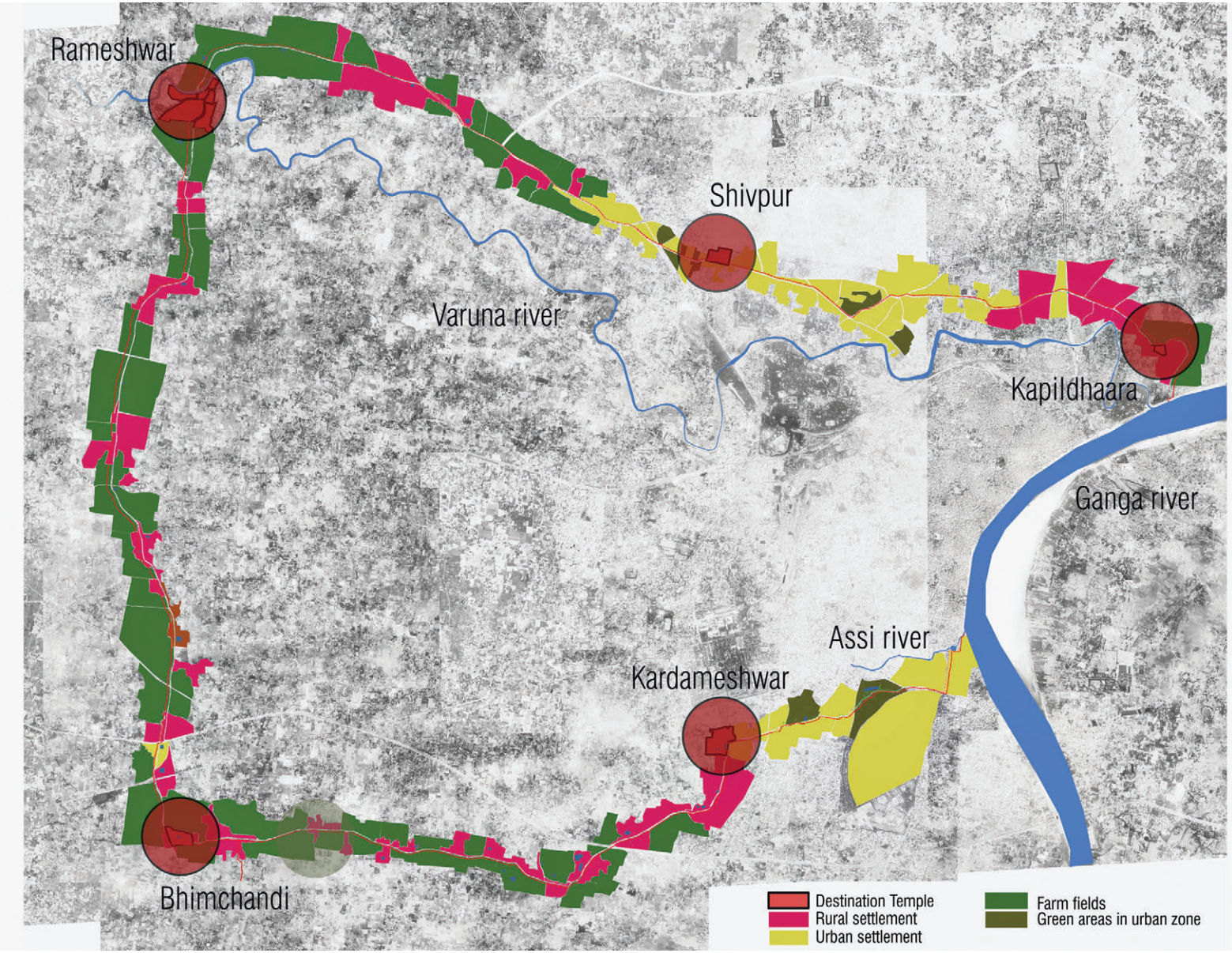


FIGURE 7.3. *Panchkroshi* path around Kashi. Credit: Saloni Chawla.

Local shops sell them fruits, vegetables and worship items and occasionally fairs are organized bringing craftspeople, musicians, and entertainers. Narrating the glories of the *panchkroshi yatra* and enacting epic myths in the evenings evokes *bhakti bhav* (feeling of devotion) and generates the sense of communitas. Pilgrims end their pilgrimage by taking a dip in Manikarnika Kund and coming back to Vishvanath Temple to leave their vow (*sankalp chodana*) and take Lord Shiva's blessings.

TEMPLE TOWNS

In peninsular India, as in other parts of the subcontinent, sites of worship were natural settings that saw their primeval local gods and goddesses give way or coopted over time into Brahmanical Hinduism by the end of first millennium. The banks and the delta of the River Kaveri, revered as the southern Ganga, are dotted with pilgrim towns such as Chidambaram, Kumbakonam, Thanjavur, and Tiruchirapalli that grew out of temple complexes built by the Cholas at the end of the first millennium.[15] River confluences are favored sites, for example, Kanchipuram is located on the banks of the Vagavati River before it joins the Palar River flowing eastward into the Bay of Bengal.[16] Kumbakonam is on the banks of Kaveri, where it is joined by the River Arasalar and is known as "Kashi on the Kaveri."[17] Islands hold a special sanctity, as they symbolize land rising out of the primeval watery chaos—the Ranganatha temple is on Shrirangam Island in the Kaveri and its branch Shivagangai. The famous Venkateshwara temple is built on the summit of Tirupati Hill on the southern banks of Pushkarini River. The 814-meter sacred hill of Tiruvannamalai is regarded as the embodiment of Shiva, who is manifested as a column of fire on its summit on Shivaratri.[18] Chidambaram, where the ether *linga* is worshipped, was originally the Tillai forest, inhabited by Kali, whom Shiva defeated in a dance competition.[19] The holy city of Madurai on the banks of the River Vaigai originated in the Kadambavanam Forest, where Indra, the king of gods, worshipped *svayambhulingam* (self-manifested linga) under the kadamba tree.

The transformation of the natural landscape of sacred sites into a monumental and urban landscape of temple towns and cities occurred over time

with royal patronage of Cholas between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Spatial archetypes, especially the mandala, had a vital role to play in this evolutionary transformation of the landscape. The mandala, of square/rectangular concentric form, guided the growth of temple complexes with walls and *gopuram*s (gateways) added at increasing distances from the main central shrine, enclosing it on all four sides. This form is symbolic of cosmos as the Puranas conceived it, in which the center—Mount Meru—is surrounded by rings of six oceans and seven continents. The built form of the temple complex thus metonymically represents the entire cosmos, in the process concentrating its auspicious energies in a defined area. The *garbha griha* (womb house) of the main shrine is the mountain cave, the soaring towers of the gopurams are symbolic of mountain peaks, the oceans are represented by stepped water tanks, and the forest groves are reproduced in the pillared *mandapa*s.[20]

Annamalai Hill in Tiruvannamalai, also known as Arunachal, or the "dawn mountain," is composed of reddish volcanic igneous rock. Here Shiva is the fiery linga/mountain visibly resplendent when lit up with a fire in an enormous cauldron placed on the hill's summit every year on full moon in November to December in the Karthikai Deepam festival. Shiva also resides in the Arunachaleswara Temple at the foot of the hill, one of five *panchbhuta sthal*s, in his manifestation as the linga of fire.[21] The eight linga shrines on the circumambulatory path around the hill are symbolic of the cardinal and intermediate directions. The circle is transformed into the quadrangular form—the temple complex on the foothill consists of nested five rectangular enclosures with increasingly tall gopurams built during the eleventh to seventeenth centuries in the image of the concentric mandala.

Shiva circumambulates the mountain—that is, himself—on festivals accompanied by his *shakti*, Parvati, affirming center and periphery of the sacred territory. Deities from about a hundred other temples in Tiruvannamalai are carried in processions around the car streets of the great temple. This act of the gods is imitated by pilgrims in their own circumambulation of the temple and hill on auspicious days, especially the day preceding the full moon. The practice known as *girivalam* (circumambulating the mountain), tracing back to Chola period, entails worshipping Shiva or Arunachaleswarar, making offerings in caves and shrines, and bathing in holy water tanks (*tirtha*) around the hill. Around a

million devotees annually walk barefoot for fourteen kilometers demarcating the sacred *kshetra* in which Shiva appeared as a column of fire bringing light to the world.

The mandala extends into the urban landscape in temple towns, with the streets paralleling the temple enclosure walls and activated in circumambulations of gods and goddesses on the car streets around the temple and on the urban streets outside it.[22] From its central shrine, the point of concentrated holiness, spread outward the munificent energies, ordering and regulating the larger landscape. The innermost enclosures are the holiest; in the outer enclosures ordinary living creeps into the residences of priestly families, as does public life, created by visiting throngs of pilgrims.[23] This landscape is experienced in ritual circumambulations around the shrines as well as unidirectional approach along the main axes, threaded by multiple thresholds of sanctity represented by gopurams. Space is generated, physically and cognitively, from movement around a center, orientation to cardinal directions, and delimitation of sacred zone from profane. These patterns of movement are reminiscent of circumambulations around natural features, whether they be mountains, trees, or bodies of water; ascension to the summit of the mountain, or penetration into the cave or the depths of the forest.

PART IV

Nature Improved

Hill and water architecture are prime examples of improving nature in making places habitable and defensible for communities living under constant threat of warfare. The cultural landscape fashioned out of the natural defenses of the hilly terrain through the application of traditional design principles was based upon a utilitarian view of nature. The builders were following a long-standing tradition of fort architecture dating back a millennium in site selection, settlement planning, and building details. The hill fort (*giri durg*) was one among the many types of forts described in *shilpa shastras*, the traditional design canon representing a knowledge base developed over centuries.[1] Their prototypical design vocabulary was adapted to unique conditions of each site and was modified as new technologies of weaponry emerged in medieval period. Hill forts were considered superior to other types of forts in their invincibility and the added advantage of prospect they offered.

Nature was improved by scarping and excavating the hillside to build forts and water structures within them, crucial for survival in perilous times. Hills, promontories, ridges, plateaus, and valleys shaped settlement patterns and determined transportation routes. On the Aravalli hill ranges and on isolated promontories in Rajasthan the hilltop citadel with the town at its foot or on the slopes was common.[2] Walls, bastions, and gateways were located with a clear understanding of topographic conditions, especially how heights and steep inclines

can aid in designing an invincible fortress that protects the inhabitants within and controlled access. The design prototype followed was a nested fort with labyrinthine gateways. It consists of a series of fortified structures one above the other, providing successive lines of retreat, and protected by curtain walls with battlements, bastions, and gates with machicolations on the main access route.[3] Water management practices depended upon the possibilities afforded by terrain and climate acting in tandem. Historic communities devised ways to be self-sufficient in water by harvesting rainwater and collecting runoff. Water collection and conveyance structures—reservoirs and *nala*s—demonstrate an intimate knowledge of slopes, gradients, and soils. Bodies of water—*talao*, *sarovar*, *kund*, and *baoli*—were landmarks and nodes in the community and supported social life.

Forts are visible, material remains of a way of life that is otherwise difficult to reconstruct in our imagination, are clues to the changing political landscape of the first half of the second millennium, and unambiguously demonstrate the ways in which landscape and architecture shape each other. The landscape intelligence demonstrated in building with nature rather than against it, using local resources, and in being climate responsive—key principles of sustainable design today—is a significant part of medieval built heritage. Hill forts have not received the attention they deserve in the architectural and landscape history of the Indian subcontinent partly because of their inaccessibility and ruinous condition. Those that are nuclei of thriving cities such as Jaisalmer and Jodhpur have scholarly attention focused on their sumptuous palaces but not on their landscapes.[4]

The literature on forts consists in large part of travelogues, taking the reader on a journey to the famed forts of Rajputana and Deccan.[5] Descriptive vignettes, illustrated with panoramic views, include the exploits of legendary figures such as Shivaji and Rana Pratap, chronicles of heroic resistance against the Islamic invaders, protracted sieges, *jauhar*s (immolation by women and children), tales of treason, and encounters between the conquerors and the vanquished have assumed mythic proportions. The forts themselves are typically described in terms of features that contributed to their reputation as invincible strongholds—gateways controlling access, battlements and bastions, and moats and drawbridges. The majority of surviving forts built had lost their usefulness by the nineteenth

century, a few were destroyed by the British, others simply abandoned. Of the hundreds spread across the Indian subcontinent, only a handful are protected as heritage monuments. Some are used by the defense services while others remain as mute reminders of eras gone by.

While forts were distributed all over the subcontinent, their greatest concentration appears to have been where topography could be exploited for building defensible structures at great heights nested within curtain walls descending on the slopes. The Aravalli hill range in western India and Sahyadri hills in the Deccan plateau provided an ideal landscape for this effort.[6] The Aravalli Range consists of the oldest fold mountains in the Indian subcontinent, formed over 1.2 billion years ago by movement of tectonic plate and lava flows. It stretches over eight hundred kilometers, from Gujarat to Delhi through Rajasthan and through many climate zones—tropical dry, arid, and subtropical arid—in the three regions. The hilly range provided quartzite and sedimentary rocks for medieval fort building and its natural gradient the catchment zone for water that was collected in underground tanks, stepwells, lakes. Pavagadh Hill in Gujarat, Kalikho Hills in Rajasthan, and the ridge in Delhi were sites of magnificent forts and intricate water management systems built between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. They are case studies in continuity in fort building over a long period, improvement in defensive building techniques in response to artillery, and refinement in architectural detailing.

CHAPTER 8

Pavagadh Hill

Pavagadh Hill, the southern end of the Aravalli range, rising abruptly from the surrounding plains to a height of 830 meters, is a striking and isolated landmark in the landscape, visible from miles around. It is part of the ancient ridge running from western to northern India, made of igneous rocks from lava flows that are now exposed in vertical escarpments in cliffs separated by narrow steep gorges. Its steep rise on all sides except northeast make it a naturally defensible feature. For the Rajputs withdrawing from the area overrun by Islamic forces, the hill was a natural fortress that they made an impregnable "seat and sanctuary" through ingenious building efforts.[1] The hill deity became their tutelary goddess—Kalika Mata, a manifestation of Devi, or the Great Goddess—whose proximity was a source of strength to them, affording protection. Her temple was at the crest of the hill, below which, on the natural terraces between the escarpments, the Rajputs built their forts in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as successive lines of defense and retreat—Atak below, Machi in the middle, and Mauliya on the top. Strongly fortified gateways controlled access, especially to Mauliya plateau, which could be easily cut off by lifting a drawbridge over a natural moat. The forts strove for self-sufficiency in water by constructing elaborate macro and micro catchments for harvesting rainwater. Food supplies were stored in granaries (*kothar*s) situated near gateways or the edge of cliffs.

Muslim chronicles describe in detail the siege of the Rajput forts by Sultan Mahmud Begarha in 1482–1484 and his victory over Patai Rawal, who ruled Pavagadh.[2] This was not the first siege—Sultan Ahmad Shah had tried conquering earlier and failed. Mahmud Begarha was looking for a pretext to make this hill-fortress his own, and in spite of repeated placating gestures by Patai Rawal, he was determined to put an end to the infidel Rajputs. Elaborate trenches were dug; the fort was stormed by first breaching the west wall by gunfire and then scaling it to take the main gate. The Rajput women and children immolated themselves in *jauhar,* and the men, throwing off all defensive armor, fought until death. Patai Rawal and his minister Dungarsingh were captured and beheaded when they refused to convert to Islam. Mahmud Begarha built his city at the foot of the hill and strengthened the upper forts. But instead of residing in the Rajput forts, he chose to live for the greater part of the year in a fortified palace enclosure on the plain below around which a walled settlement was built.[3]

Champaner had a short life as the capital of the Gujarati sultanate. The Mughal emperor Humayun laid siege for four months in 1535 and breached the defenses when woodcutters who were supplying provisions to the garrison informed him of a stretch of the western slope suitable for escalation.[4] Using iron spikes to climb the sheer rock that rose to more than hundred feet, he and his men attacked the garrison from above while simultaneously his army breached the main gate. The city was abandoned and never regained its lost glory even though Champaner-Pavagadh continued as an outpost of Mughal governors, then the Marathas, and finally the British. In the last two hundred years, although it waned as a defensive stronghold, its religious status as a *shakti-pitha*, seat of the Great Goddess, soared, bringing millions of pilgrims annually to its temples and shrines.

FORT ARCHITECTURE

The remnants of fort walls, gateways, palaces, granaries, and water structures on the hill and its foot are clues helpful in answering the question of how topography determined the location, layout, and form of architecture and how building activities and structures in turn transformed the natural landscape and made it

habitable and secure.[5] At Pavagadh, the natural terraces on the northeast provided a somewhat even surface, though limited in area, for building fortified structures. These were flanked by deep valleys—Bhadrakali and Vishwamitri—on the north and east and protected by steep declension on other sides. The fort walls conformed to the contour, hugging the edge of plateaus and merging into the scarped hillside. They were continuous, straggling across the two valleys, and connected upper and lower forts. As many as seven forts were built on the northeast at successively higher levels, thus completing the work of nature in creating an invulnerable fortress.

The successive plateaus provided outlook points for surveying not only the terraces below but also the larger landscape stretching to the horizon. The main palace of the Rajput rulers and mansions of nobility on Atak Plateau were fortified by a ten-meter-high roughly circular fort wall and reinforced with eighty-seven catapults (*makaryantras*) from where massive stones could be hurled at the enemy below. At each line of defense heavily guarded gateways controlled access to the settlements within. Their location was strategic, coinciding with overlook points and natural barriers such as a narrow neck of land and ravine. Buildings within the fortified enclosures were located for not only strategic reasons but also for symbolic needs. Kalika Mata Temple, on the pinnacle of the toe-shaped hillcrest, proclaimed her supremacy and served as a destination for pilgrims climbing up the hill.[6] The queen's pleasure palace on Mauliya Plateau, Patai Rawal's palace on Bhadrakali Plateau, Sat Kaman, and Khapra Zaveri no Mahal were deliberately sited to take advantage of spectacular views and be closer to sacred sites.

The cultural landscape of the hill was shaped gradually through the very physical processes of scarping, excavation, and building. Scarping the hillside at Mauliya and Bhadrakali Plateaus obviated the necessity of building walls on its south and west sides. At other locations scarping acted in tandem with building walls making escalation a very difficult proposition. Natural topography was "improved," merging imperceptibly into built form. Buildings augmented natural forms—they accentuated heights, exaggerated curvature, and hollowed out indentations. The walls of Sadan Shah Darwaza, for example, merge into the hillside, three stories of Khapra Zaveri no Mahal were built into the hill, and seven arches of Sat Kaman extended the panoramic view naturally available. Human

and animal movement shaped the cultural landscape as well, beating the hilly slope into submission to make gradual and steep ascent possible. The pilgrim path may have had an archaic origin, trodden by humans and animals over the ages to reach the sacred summit from the gently ascending northeastern slope. Over time this ancient path was incorporated into a movement system linking the forts, punctuated by gateways and even a drawbridge. The hill was not only excavated for rubble that formed the core of walls but also mined for sandstone for wall facings, water channels, and retaining walls of tanks.

Islamic Champaner of Mahmud Begarha was the last of the fortified settlements that Pavagadh Hill supported. Although it was established at the base of the hill rather than on its plateaus, topography continued to shape the settlement pattern, location of gateways, and bodies of water. The city's fan-shaped layout was the result of connecting the lowest plateau of Pavagadh with Saria-Vakaria Hill by an outer fort wall. The settlement was thus protected on its south and west sides by natural topography, and on the north and east by fortifications that connected it to the upper forts. The center—constituted by inner fort/royal enclosure and Jami Masjid—was linked with nine city gateways on the periphery by a radiating pattern of streets that acted as boundaries of the residential neighborhoods. The South Bhadra Gate of the Royal Enclosure is located opposite the beginning of the ascending pilgrim path, thus symbolically connecting it with the hill. The narrow pass between Pavagadh and Saria-Vakaria hills was closed off by the city gateway on the west.

The paucity of sources makes it rather difficult to reconstruct the lived experience of this landscape in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and one can only speculate on its myriad social and psychological meanings. Although the hilly plateaus and the forts they housed were discrete entities, they were linked by the pilgrim path that would have been also used for mundane purposes to access each fort, as well as movement back and forth on a regular basis. Its gateways would have controlled entry and movement but also on occasions served as thresholds for ritual passage from the material to the spiritual realm. The view of the larger landscape from the palaces on the higher plateaus would have been a source of continuing pleasure and affirmation of worldly power yet not complete without an inner vision and *darshan* of the goddess. The *talao*s (macro catchment basins with earthen embankments or built steps, *ghat*s) would have

FIGURE 8.1. View of Pavagadh Hill from Champaner. Credit: Amita Sinha.

served daily needs and were also sites of ritual ablutions including the bath before jauhar and the final battle unto death. The sacred and the mundane meshed and overlapped with each other.

WATER ARCHITECTURE

Water management at Champaner-Pavagadh in Gujarat was a marvel of engineering of the medieval era. Pavagadh Hill and its historic settlements are in a semiarid region with an average annual rainfall of 823 millimeters, mostly in the monsoon season. The region is dry in other seasons, making water resource management imperative. Abundant rainfall over a short period needs to be harvested and stored for later use. Traditional knowledge and technologies involving an intimate understanding of terrain, groundwater table, and percolation rates in soils evolved around this necessity for storing water. However, holistic knowledge of site hydrology, though essential for survival, was unrecorded and largely based upon lived experience. Water harvesting was a cultural practice based upon the collective wisdom of local communities.[7] There are no perennial rivers or streams in Champaner-Pavagadh. Small rivulets such as Jhorvan in the plain and Vishwamitri on Pavagadh Hill dry up in the summers. The hilly topography creates watersheds that were utilized to build waterworks for the historic communities. The hill cascades down in five plateaus on the northeast and has sheer vertical faces on its other sides. Its plateaus were prime sites for water harvesting in talaos around which temples, palaces, and mansions were built in fortified settlements by the Rajputs.

Champaner city at the foothill relied largely on groundwater for meeting its daily needs. Wells were the primary source of water for individual households and for public uses. Large *talaos* on the outskirts of the city harvested monsoon rains and runoff from Pavagadh and Saria-Vakaria hills and supplied water to the city and for agriculture. A complex system of catchment and conveyance in water sheds evolved over time to feed the bodies of water (*jalashay*) in Champaner-Pavagadh. These demonstrate a sound working knowledge of terrain, soils, rainfall patterns, and groundwater table, put into practice for hundreds of years, enabling the historic Hindu and Muslim settlements to flourish in the semiarid

climate. Water architecture, a fusion of Hindu and Islamic styles, was elaborately designed and had reached a level of excellence in its craftsmanship in the sixteenth century by the time the site was abandoned.

The knowledge base and skills in harvesting rainwater developed within cultural contexts in which religious symbolism played a profound role. In the Indic worldview nature is sentient and water, among the five natural elements (*panch tattva*), is the primary constituent of all matter. Water purifies by washing away physical dirt and moral sins. It precedes creation and reabsorbs it and is thus associated with both evolution and dissolution in creation myths. Bathing is regeneration of body and spirit; emergence upon taking a dip in the holy waters is symbolic of taking on a new and purer form.[8] At Pavagadh, the symbolism of water should be interpreted in the context of myths. The hill is visualized as the goddess Sati's toe and as the body of goddess Kalika, who is worshipped in the temple on its summit. Sati and Kalika are manifestations of the Great Goddess, whose origins lie in the prehistoric fertility hill goddess worshipped by local tribes. Kalika is revered as Mata (mother), and since the hill is her manifestation, her transcendence made immanent in a natural form, it is symbolic of her maternal qualities of protecting and nourishing. As such, the life-sustaining waters on the hill take on added meanings as mother's milk, milk-based food such as *chaach* (curd), and Annapurna, the giver of food.[9]

The arrival of Islam and building of Champaner at the foothill added further meanings to water. Islam shares with Hinduism (and with other religions) the concept of water as a purifying element. Ablution is a necessary part of the Islamic prayer ritual and every mosque courtyard has tanks for *waju* (a cleansing ritual). The flowing waters of Qu'ranic paradise are the essence of the paradisiacal garden, celebrated in pools, channels, and fountains. The sensual pleasures afforded by water are the dominant aspect in design of water architecture in Islamic culture and shaped the urban landscape of Champaner. Water in this worldview was not a medium for a transcendent divine entity; rather, it was to be enjoyed for its phenomenal properties—to cool, nourish life, and to assume myriad playful forms. Hindu and Islamic views of water combined at Champaner-Pavagadh to ascribe multiple values to the cultural landscape—water was a resource, a purifying element, integral part of sacred rituals, a source of sensual delight and pleasure, and symbol of goddess Kalika's nurturance.

The meanings attributed to water in the Indo-Islamic culture of Champaner-Pavagadh shaped cultural practices and built forms that accommodated them. Vernacular water structures consist of talao; wells edged with square/circular platforms from where water could be drawn by a rope pulley; stone or brick cisterns; and canals, under- or aboveground, lined with clay, brick, or concrete. The historic jalashays demonstrate sophisticated design intent and high levels of craftsmanship. They include *kund*s—square/polygonal tanks with ornamental steps; and *vav*s, or stepwells—deep underground wells reached by steps. This rich typology of water structures for storing water above or below ground is quite extraordinary and rarely seen elsewhere in western India. The opportunities afforded by natural terraced slopes of Pavagadh Hill and high groundwater table in plains below, combined with cultural meanings attributed to water, led to efficient water systems and ornate water architecture.

The location of water structures was contingent upon not only terrain, monsoon runoff, and groundwater table but also value and meanings attributed to water and cultural practices that reflected them. Water bodies were foci of Rajput settlements on Pavagadh Hill; they were centrally located, in close proximity to temples and palaces.[10] Dudhiya Talao lies directly below Kalika Temple on the crest of Mauliya Plateau, demonstrating the archetypal hill-water dyad in sacred sites of Hinduism. Talaos were "frames" in the sense of being situational entities where spaces organized experience and activities shaped places.[11] Religious, recreational, and utilitarian uses of water in different situations, each creating its own spatiotemporal context, were supported by the talao. Its banks were hubs of activities ranging from sacred to profane, around which community life revolved. Medhi Talao was the center of the Rajput settlement in Atak Fort, as were Annapurna and Teliya Talaos in the Machi Plateau settlement, and Moti Talao in Bhadrakali Plateau palace complex.[12]

Instead of being centers of community life as they were in Pavagadh, talaos were on the outskirts of the walled city of Champaner. Due to their peripheral location they were suburban pleasure resorts for the sultan and his nobles. As their location on the main transportation routes attested, stepwells in Champaner were meant to be used by pilgrims and travelers. Gaben Shah Vav was built where the pilgrim path began its ascent up the Pavagadh Hill, and the helical vav is on the outskirts of Champaner city. They represent a synthesis of

Hindu and Islamic traditions in water buildings. Ornate tanks graced mosque courtyards, the most exquisite being in Jami Masjid, where the octagonal ablution tank has nested stair triangles, split into two halves and spliced around the octagonal edge.[13]

The Royal Enclosure in Champaner had gardens with channels, tanks, and a pavilion cooled by water. The mansion of the nobleman Ghulam Ali, known as Amir's Manzil, had an elaborate network of water channels to collect water, and gardens with lotus pools and spiral water channels.[14] Household wells were private domestic settings in Champaner, unlike the community spaces of talaos in Pavagadh. The temple on the banks of the talao in Pavagadh Hill was replaced by the mausoleum and pleasure pavilion in the talaos of Champaner. Water was a source of delight and pleasure in many private and public settings, although its spiritual connotations were lacking except in ablution tanks of mosque courtyards.

Pilgrimage at Champaner-Pavagadh is a long, arduous climb up the mountain and circumambulations around sacred sites and structures are part of the visceral landscape experience in this *yatra*. It is an archetypal act upon which other journeys undertaken to gain a better understanding of history (archaeological) and the environment (water systems, botanical specimens, geology) can be modeled. Pilgrims who climb the hill to visit the Kalika Mata temple at its crest and other visitors—including tourists, archaeological buffs, hikers, history students, and those looking for a recreational picnic spot—seem to inhabit two different mental worlds, one of timeless, eternal mythology and the other structured by a linear sense of time that the historic ruins convey. To integrate history into the mythological worldview of the pilgrim remains a challenge, as does appreciation of relevance of myth to modern life by the secular tourist. Mythology promotes the perception of time as "eternal present"; the goddess has neither beginning nor end, she is eternal and so is her domicile on earth, the primeval Hill. This history is not linear but cyclical, with historical events subsumed in a grand mythic narrative that pays poor attention to real time and place. In this worldview cyclical recurrence in which the new is yet another aspect of the eternal mutes marks of change and lessens the significance of age.[15]

The sacred hill that sustains the belief in the presence of the Great Goddess, the repeated rebuilding of her temple, and the rituals of pilgrimage and worship

FIGURE 8.2. Forts and water structures of Champaner-Pavagadh. Credit: Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

also contain the now forgotten and neglected ruins of forts and palaces. The material evidence of the historic past is invaluable in communicating the passage of actual time measured not in cosmic terms but in centuries, years, months, and days. Exploration of the archaeological sites is a step that the pilgrim can be persuaded to undertake through heritage trails in the same way that the casual visitor will be drawn to temples and shrines. A vivid temporal and spatial image of the physical environment would then have a chance to be generated.

CHAPTER 9

Kalikho Hills

In June 2013 Amber and five other hill forts of Rajasthan were inscribed in the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites in the cultural heritage category. Their designation was based on their outstanding universal value attributed to military knowledge and building technology evident in fort architecture, and the elaborate court culture of palaces and temples, sustained by urban economy of their towns that functioned as trading centers. Of the six hill forts, the most widely visited is Amber, the historic capital of Kacchwaha Rajputs from 1097 to 1727, five miles north of Jaipur.[1] The two ranges of Kalikho Hills, part of the Aravallis, were an ideal location for building the fort complex as they encircled a bowl-shaped valley, access to which is through a narrow pass. The fort walls enclosed a roughly polygonal area with the Jaigarh Fort and smaller forts, such as Kuntalgarh on the hill crest toward the west, protecting Amber Palace. Below the forts spread the town of Amber in the valley, surrounded on all sides by hills and protected by its fort ramparts. The cultural landscape encompassed by historic built structures—fort walls and their bastions and gateways, palaces, gardens, bodies of water, temples, and mansions, among others—is largely intact, although the town has grown beyond the fort walls in the last century.[2]

FORT ARCHITECTURE

The built landscape developed a visual structure wherein panoramic views were possible from myriad lookout points in forts and on top of crenellated walls. Surveillance from the seven-story watchtower and twenty-seven checkpoints (*chowkis*) covered the landscape within the fortified area, especially the strategic pass, and the larger territory beyond.[3] The architectural response to the threat posed by the possibility of an enemy entering the *garh* (fort) palaces was to build underground tunnels and covered corridors for escape. The longest escape route (325 meters) is between Amber Palace and Jaigarh Fort, and the latter has a number of tunnels connecting public rooms with interior spaces—kitchen, women's quarters, and a garden house. The ingenious system of passages obstructed the enemy's gaze and served the purposes of internal surveillance in screened (*jaali*) corridors.[4]

Architecture in medieval Indian cities embodied the reverent gaze in that it enabled *darshan* of the deity housed in the temple and of the ruler in the palace. Palatine and temple architecture as symbolic of earthly and divine power, respectively, acted as twin foci of the urban settlement. Natural features—hills and bodies of water—were often sites of temples, their sacredness made manifest in buildings.[5] The visual structure of the Amber landscape included the reverent gaze directed at the gods and kings who ruled on their behalf. The fort palaces and temples were the most significant landmarks and always kept in sight by commanding long and wide viewsheds. The palaces are located on the highest ground while temples built outside of the palaces in the valley below have soaring spires and are widely visible on the main town thoroughfares. Ambikeshwar Mahadev Temple, Bihariji Temple, and Kalyanji Temple are easily accessible to the populace for darshan and rituals.[6]

The introverted Amber Palace was built over time around a series of courtyards, with its blank exterior walls merging into the escarped hill, and its roofline broken by buttress towers, balconies, and *chattris*, that would have framed the king's gaze and his body for the populace gazing at him from below. The grand, winding path up the hill accentuated by imposing gateways kept the royal procession on elephants in full view as the king returned to Amber Palace from

FIGURE 9.1. View of Amber Fort. Credit: Amita Sinha.

a military excursion. The other path from the Palace on its western side leading to the town and flanked by handsome mansions was also a visible ceremonial route of the royalty going to the temples for worship. Architectural elements and urban form thus made possible the mutual gaze of deities and devotees and king and his subjects.[7]

WATER ARCHITECTURE

Water in Rajasthan's arid climate is a source of great sensual delight, and its architecture is designed to elevate the utilitarian to beautiful. Beckoning one to look, touch, and dip in large expanses or small pools, water rivets the gaze and mirrors it through reflections. Gardens as a source of sensual pleasure invite desire; framing views is therefore a common device in designing their layout and location. Lakes and gardens are most painted and photographed and salient in perceiving Amber's landscape as picturesque. The two large lakes—Sagar below Jaigarh Fort and Maota below Amber Palace—are the primary source of water to the fort palaces and provide panoramic scenic vistas and framed views from palace windows.[8] The lesser-known stepwells focus the gaze downward as one descends below the ground into a cool haven.

The traditional knowledge system, or "water intelligence," was responsible for the transformation of the arid region into a picturesque landscape of gardens in lakes. The monsoon runoff from hill ranges around Amber and technical knowhow of surveyors and artisans made the extensive and elaborate water catchment, conveyance, collection, and distribution system possible. Canals and aqueducts conveyed water from the hills into tanks in palaces and into large macrocatchments in valleys. Pulleys, elephants, and manpower distributed the collected water from lakes and tanks to *tankha*s (underground tanks) in palace interiors.[9] The water collection and conveyance system was fairly sophisticated at Jaigarh, as the fort was a retreat for Amber Palace in times of siege. Its parapets collected rainwater and channeled it into the Karor Pati Tanka, functional even today.[10] Canals and aqueducts bringing water from the hills were laid on gradient on an undulating course with small tanks in their path for trapping sediments. The two-level Sagar Lake, below the fort, collected rainwater from

FIGURE 9.2. Kesar Kyari Garen in Maota Lake below Amber Fort. Credit: Amita Sinha.

FIGURE 9.3. Sagar Lake near Amber Fort. Credit: Amita Sinha.

aqueducts in the surrounding hills. Water was lifted manually and with the aid of elephants, and stored in tanks in the Fort from where it was further lifted with a pulley.[11] Amber has a large number of stepwells (*baoli*) on the main streets that functioned as public places next to temples and shrines. Their pavilions were used as resting places by the weary traveler in the past and today by locals for meetings and casual hanging out.[12]

Buildings in stepwells and the island pavilion in Sagar Lake are porous architectural forms designed and situated to take full advantage of their location in the midst of or at the edge of water. Gardens have an inextricable relationship with water in that it not only is essential for their blooming but can be also a design element, as gardens in Amber so vividly demonstrate. Influenced by the Mughal palace gardens, in Amber palace and Jaigarh Fort, garden and pavilions are linked by water channels and reflecting pools. In the lakeside gardens—Dilaram and the floating garden Kesar Kyari—in Maota Lake, water becomes the field of vision within which gardens are objects of gaze. The garden, in three stepped terraces with hexagonal flowerbeds, is meant to be viewed from the pavilions of Amber Palace.[13] The framing of garden in jaali windows and in chattris builds an apparatus of vision for the gaze of delight.[14] While the lakes with their gardens and pavilions afford expansive views, framed from within the palaces, and seen in moving along their edges, the gaze is focused in descending below ground into the historic stepwells along with the heightened sense of enclosure as the body adjusts to darkness in damp interiors.

IN SEARCH OF PICTURESQUE

The historic landscape of Amber was shaped by the cultural gaze that affirmed the power of Rajput kings, their rule over their subject population on behalf of divine authority, and their need to have a secure stronghold for protection in times of frequent warfare. The landscape evolved to reify the gaze and the continuing reenactment of relationships it signaled. When Amber was abandoned in favor of the newly built Jaipur, the European gaze, in colonial representations in words and imagery, began to structure how its landscape was viewed and valued.

The colonial search for the picturesque laid the basis for modern tourism more in Rajasthan than in other parts of the Indian subcontinent.

In travelogues written over two centuries Amber was described as quintessentially picturesque, elaborated in phrases such as "beautiful forsaken town, alone in a picturesque valley"; "narrow winding street"; "romantic singularity of the apartments"; and its lake framed by "wild hillocks" forming a "ravishing tableau." The description of fortified palace and deserted town of temples evoked feelings of "gloomy grandeur," "desolation," and "fatal providence."[15] The abandoned town was consistently contrasted with Jaipur, a spacious and magnificent city of straight and broad thoroughfares with an elegant style of architecture whose institutions spoke of progressive and enlightened rule.[16]

Upon Amber and Jaipur's amalgamation into the newly independent republic of India, hill forts of Rajasthan began to be marketed as destinations for heritage tourism. Amber continued to be perceived as picturesque in the postcolonial period, and that appellation was applied to Jaipur as well, but the association of thoughts had shifted. Princely Rajasthan is now a landscape of fantasy travel where one can live opulently, like a maharaja, for a short time.[17] This branding, aided in no small part by the decision of Rajput royalty to convert their palaces into hotels, captured novel meanings of the picturesque in brochures and images. Amber is no longer viewed melancholically as an abandoned and desolate fort but as a magnificent palace complex on a hilltop ascended to on a caparisoned elephant. The amble into history is conjured by an exclusive visit to the preserved monument from where photographs are taken but the town and the peripheral heritage sites seldom ventured into. Giles Tillotson describes Rajput palaces as having the "quality of elusion, refusal to be easily read, achieved by calculated devices," and their "picturesque variety in the advance and recess of elevations, and the complex, unpredictable spaces create a sense of mystery, reminiscent of the temple."[18] Picturesque is exotic, colorful, royal, and pleasing to the eye, an exclusively visual aesthetic experience of a fantasy world.[19]

The tourist gaze, influenced by earlier representations, is responsible for the present-day tourist enclave confined to Amber palace. The restricted tourist gaze and limited movement appears to be no different from nineteenth-century travel in search of the picturesque, although visitor attitudes have changed. The orientalist's gaze resulted in Amber's image in the nineteenth century as

quintessentially picturesque, and the epithet continues to be applied today. But the meaning of appellation has not remained static—it has shifted from melancholic cult of ruins to royals in fantasyland. This opens the possibility for yet another shift toward imaginatively recapturing the historic gaze and the landscape that was its object.

The picturesque monuments and a few choice landscapes (gardens, ascent path) as tableau sets in Amber are aesthetically pleasing and invite fantasy travel back in time. But this leads to a superficial and somewhat inauthentic understanding of heritage. The visual structure of the large landscape is fragmented or absent altogether in the tourist experience, except to the few who venture out on their own. Movement and vision together constitute the primary means of apprehending the entirety of the cultural landscape and when carefully orchestrated in design yield an image rich in details, dense and whole. Site mapping of historic fort walls, gateways, palaces, temples, bodies of water, and gardens revealed the visual structure guided by the period eye that would have shaped the cultural landscape in the past and can be made comprehensible to the tourist today on heritage trails. Movement patterns of visitors could be extended to expand the tourist gaze beyond the monument.[20] For the larger cultural landscape of fort and the settlement within it to be appreciated and understood, the gaze can expand beyond the monument and be informed by immersive experiences at a large number of sites linked by interpretive heritage trails. This will lead to an immersive experience rather than the distant visual one of key heritage sites—the first step toward understanding medieval fort building and water management techniques and living cultural traditions of temples.

A coherent and legible image of the historic landscape is possible when it is supplemented by interpretive aids—signage maps, model exhibits, and text. Viewing in motion and at rest will augment the repertoire of images and more importantly lead to building a coherent cognitive map of Amber. The picturesque landscape has the possibility of becoming legible as well through many more viewing opportunities over a wider range of movement. Presently tourists access Amber Palace on an elephant ride on the historic royal processional path winding up the hill or in a vehicle through the main street of the town, ill equipped to deal with the heavy traffic. Congestion and conflict result from a lack of adequate parking and narrow winding streets suited for people on foot

or horseback. Visitor movement can be extended beyond the palace to the larger cultural landscape on historic paths functioning as heritage trails and linking the fort palaces with the historic town and bodies of water. Aesthetic perception, presently limited to visual appreciation of palace monuments, can be amplified to an informed understanding of security, spirituality, and recreation in the Rajput court culture. Instead of being driven up to the Amber palace gateway as happens with the majority of tourists now, the visitor can walk, bike, take a golf cart, or ride an elephant—modes of travel with many different ways of engaging with the landscape in which kinesthetic and haptic perception will enhance the visual in an immersive experience of the site.

CHAPTER 10

Delhi Ridge

The Ridge in Delhi at the tail end of the Aravalli spurs is a linear hilly range slanting like a finger in the northeastern direction toward the River Yamuna. It branches off from the main trunk south of Delhi and, turning toward the northwest, rejoins the main Ridge in a triangular formation. The hard quartzite, resistant to erosion, is folded in tablelands and isolated spurs that are crisscrossed by residual hills, gullies and ravines.[1] The Ridge and the Yamuna bridge the alluvial plains where many cities have flourished and fallen into ruins, earning Delhi the title "Rome of India." The Ridge, however, has been more than a boundary, and has actively participated in the very building of some of these cities. It has supplied building materials and provided the needed heights for outlook points so crucial in the location of defensible forts. Its defiles facilitated damming of lakes and reservoirs upon which the survival of the resident communities depended. The Ridge is not a topographically prominent feature in the sense of commanding a presence within the city or providing a mountainous backdrop to it, although it has been described as "an unforgettable skyline which once a year was radiant with golden flame-of-the-forest."[2] Its highest elevation is only about 110 meters above the Yamuna floodplains.[3] Broken into many spurs, its low, hilly mounds are visible on and off, appearing as remnants of something vaguely discerned as being a massive presence long ago.

Figure 10.2. Hauz-i-Khas Archaeological Park. Credit: Amita Sinha.

The once continuous Ridge is now fragmented in smaller sections of North, Central, South-Central, and South Ridge. South and South-Central Ridge have played a momentous role in the founding of the earliest cities of Delhi, the remnants of which are now protected heritage sites. On the wild, rocky terrain of South Ridge arose no fewer than four cities of Delhi, chronicled in the writings of Ibn Batuta, Ziau-d Din-Barni, and Timur.[4] As the course of the Yamuna shifted eastward, moving ever farther away from the Ridge, city building did too, with later cities—Firozabad, Dinpanah, and Shahjahanabad—situated on its banks.[5] The earliest settlement in the environs of the South Ridge that we have archaeological evidence of is at the present site of Suraj Kund, where the Rajput ruler Anangapala Tomar founded the settlement of Dhilli (presently Anangpur village) in 1020, in a valley. A narrow ravine was dammed, converting the valley basin into the Anangtal Tank that supplied water to the settlement.[6] The Tomars built another citadel about ten kilometers to the west called Lal Kot, which was later occupied by the Chauhans, who succeeded them. Prithviraj Chauhan extended its walls to build the fortified enclosure known as Qila Rai Pithora, occupied by Muslims after defeating the Rajputs. Alau-ud-din Khilji founded the walled settlement of Siri in the adjoining plain where his army had camped. The succeeding dynasty of Tughluqs built the next two cities of Delhi at Tughluqabad and Jahanpanah on the Ridge. The settlements centered on the citadel with the population living within the city walls as well as in urban clusters outside them. This concentrated building activity over five hundred years on the Ridge heights was a reflection of precarious times, when strong fortifications enabled the communities to withstand almost continuous depredations. The massive, invincible walls and gateways of forts and their citadels were built with grey quartzite from the Ridge. The forests supplied timber for palaces and mansions within. Since the forts were at a distance from the River Yamuna, huge tanks were excavated and lined with stone to catch and retain water draining from the slopes of the Ridge.[7] The tributary streams from South and Central Ridges formed the hydrological context of the tanks.[8] Sultan Iltutmish built a large rectangular tank (200 by 125 meters) called Hauz-i-Shamsi about three kilometers south of Qutub, while about four kilometers north of it another square tank, called Hauz-i-Khas (600 by 600 meters), was excavated by Sultan Alau-ud-din Khilji to serve Siri Fort. Hauz-i-Khas, fed by tributary streams flowing due north from Qila Rai

Pithora, was restored by Firoz Shah Tughluq, who built a *madrasa* (school) and his own tomb on its banks, creating an architecturally spectacular setting. The rocky defiles also allowed for dams to be built for retaining large bodies of water such as the lakes in Tughluqabad and Jahanpanah. The arched sluices of weir called "Satpula," built by Muhammad bin Tughluq in 1327, controlled inflows of tributaries of the Kushak Nallah that drained most of southeastern Delhi into the lake immediately south of Jahanpanah. Built of stone rubble and supported by battered buttresses, it had wooden shutters operated by thick ropes on stone or wood beams to regulate the water outflow into agricultural fields.[9]

Of the four cities, the remains of Tughluqabad are the most impressive and best exemplify the crucial role of the landscape in the siting and building of citadels, forts, mausoleums, and settlements. In their extensive surveys of its historic structures, Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie Shokoohy point out how the crucial requirements for defensibility and self-sufficiency in water were achieved by working with the topography of the Ridge.[10] The fort was built and a citadel was located on its highest point on a hill above a basin where the monsoon water collected. The rocky defiles of the Ridge were blocked by *bundh*s (microdams) and sluice gates were built to control the flow of water into the moat surrounding the fort on its north, east, and west sides.

Above the shallow lake on its south, the battered walls of Tughluqabad fort, built of massive blocks of quartzite stone, rising steeply atop the scarped rocky outcrop of the Ridge, arose thirty to fifty feet high, and as high as ninety feet in the citadel.[11] The fort walls were built in three tiers, the lower two with a ledge and a gallery, all three protected by battlements. On the north below the fort and the citadel lay the medieval walled settlement with roughly orthogonal streets connecting gates of the fort with that of the city. Two smaller forts were built on the southeast—one as a picturesque island tomb complex in the midst of the artificial lake, linked to the main fort by a causeway and the other, known as Adilabad, at its edge on a rocky outcrop. Stepped tanks and wells within the fort were a source of water, as were quarry sites made into water reservoirs, with one just outside the gate of the citadel. Tughluqabad would have been a self-sufficient fortified city and an invincible fort largely because of its location on the Ridge. Its abandonment may have been yet another folly of Muhammad bin Tughluq, who preferred to reside in his newly built city of Jahanpanah. His

vision of uniting Qila Rai Pithora, Jahanpanah, and Siri with Tughluqabad was another grandiose idea of his that never came to fruition.

With the exception of Tughluqabad, the medieval settlements have vanished—what remains today are their monuments preserved by Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). A few, such as the Qutub complex, now a UNESCO World Heritage Site, are widely visited, others less so, and others are completely off the tourist circuit. Only fragments of the walls of Qila Rai Pithora, Siri, and Jahanpanah remain, while their gateways have totally disappeared. The walls and gateways of Tughluqabad and Adilabad Forts, on the other hand, are largely intact, although the historic urban structure has altered beyond recognition, with its major landmarks such as the Jami Masjid demolished and an urban village thriving within the confines of its walls.

Conservation of monuments began in the 1860s as a number of European visitors began exploring the ruins on the South Ridge.[12] Guidebooks were written, the monuments were sketched and photographed, and steps were taken to survey the historic buildings.[13] The Qutub complex, Hauz-i-Khas, and Tughluqabad Fort, described as picturesque ruins in the Delhi travelogues, were cleared of their age-old debris and vegetation, and surrounded by carefully tended lawns, shrubs, and pathways to facilitate viewing and visitor access.[14] They began fulfilling their destiny as tourist sites. While their architectural conservation ensured their status as protected heritage structures, monument parks and archaeological gardens built by ASI obliterated any lingering sense of their historical landscapes, burying remnants under the ubiquitous lawns. Fencing them ensured protection from human squatters and stray animals but also a disconnect from their surroundings, disruption of the views they would have commanded, and the historic network of routes they would have been embedded in. In visiting the heritage sites, one has little sense of their historic landscape—the undulating terrain of the Ridge, its large and small bodies of water, and its thorny forests in a boulder-strewn landscape.

Although the contemporary landscape of South Ridge is heavily built up it contains a larger area of protected forests (6,200 hectares) than North or Central Ridge. These forests are close to heritage monuments and together with their gardens and parks form green pockets in the urbanized landscape. About 4,700 hectares in Asola Wildlife Sanctuary is in proximity to Tughluqabad fort; Sanjay

FIGURE 10.1. **Natural and cultural heritage of Delhi. Credit: Sarmistha Mandal.**

Van is not too far away from Qutub and Mehrauli; and both Siri and Jahanpanah walls nestle against forest named after the historic cities. The Delhi Development Authority has built parks next to archaeological gardens in Mehrauli and Hauz-i-Khas, and is planning one in Tughluqabad. The parks and gardens follow the picturesque model of the colonial era with the historic structures as follies in a verdant, manicured landscape. The archaeological parks abut densely built-up urban villages with poor infrastructure and dilapidated housing stock. The ruins

of the historic city of Tughluqabad are rapidly disappearing, with new houses being constructed in the last two decades. Little remains of the Jami Masjid and the historic squares are covered with new development although the street layout is still preserved.[15]

Mehrauli, next to the Qutub complex and spread over 185 acres with an estimated population of forty-five thousand, is believed to have been continuously inhabited for nine hundred years. Although it is part of a heritage zone, its many historic structures stand uneasily within a cluttered and teeming landscape where no controls appear to have been exercised over land use. Hauz-i-Khas village, on the other hand, has become a tourist destination in its own right with its ethnic boutiques, antique shops, and authentic cuisine. It is abutted by the seven-hundred-year-old Hauz-i-Khas lake in Delhi, restored in the last decade.[16] The historic body of water in the southern ridge of the Aravalli Range had dried up by the 1960s because of urban growth in its catchment area. Harvesting of monsoon rainfall, complemented by treated effluent from a local sanitary treatment plant conveyed through a system of pipes, revived the lake and bioremediation and aerator fountains improved the water quality, attracting migratory birds. Today the lake and the adjacent historic monuments, part of the district park, are a popular destination for local residents and tourists alike.

PART V

Nature Perfected

The garden is a trope in the language of landscape in celebrating nature's beauties and human control over its vagaries. It is a form of art making in which nature is perfected in the image of an aesthetic ideal. The Garden of Eden archetype is symbolic of mankind's return to origins in a prelapsarian state where nature is bountiful and no toil is needed for a blissful existence. This archetype is also an image of eternal life in paradise. Arcadia is imagined by the Roman poet Virgil as an idyllic pastoral landscape where one could live in simplicity and in harmony with nature. The enclosed garden is equated with the woman in the Hebrew Song of Songs, and its derivative, the medieval *hortus conclusus*, is identified with the Virgin Mary in Christianity.[1] The bounded garden where nature is perfected for sensual delight and pleasure is defined in opposition to wilderness in many cultures. The Islamic walled garden in the Indian subcontinent is a well-known example. Other distinct garden traditions in ancient and medieval Hindu and colonial periods are also based upon the archetype, but expressed differently in diverse cultural contexts. They hold clues to changing cultural practices and evolving aesthetic tastes and, though disparate in their forms and meanings, have influenced each other in producing hybrid versions.

The garden groves visualized in medieval paintings illustrating the great Hindu epic *Ramayana*, medieval Indo-Islamic historic garden districts on riverfronts, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonial gardens and urban districts,

twentieth-century experiments in garden city, and the contemporary municipal park derived from the colonial garden are some of the garden traditions of the Indian subcontinent. The *tapovan* of ancient India was a garden grove, wrested out of wilderness by the penance of sages, where beasts live in harmony. Benign and bountiful nature was purified of its malevolence. The Indo-Islamic walled garden represents the great Islamic tradition of garden as an image of paradise and a landscape of conquest. It was made in the archetypal image of the four quarters of the world and afforded rich sensory experiences. The colonial garden was based upon the European romantic view of nature as cultivator of finer human sensibilities and refuge from the squalor of the native city. It appeared to be the English landscape garden transplanted to the colonies. Extending beyond the private garden to urban enclaves of European settlers, it became leafy picturesque suburbs, a contrast to the densely built-up preindustrial Indian city. As the idea of garden city took hold as the universal model for city building in the twentieth century, it guided the development of the first industrial city in India, Jamshedpur. The garden was no longer a refuge from the dense urban city; the city was conceived of as a garden. Nature was viewed as therapeutic and an antidote to industrial pollution; the machine was tamed by situating it in a garden. The postcolonial municipal park is a theme setting and an ideological statement made by political parties in making visible their history and achievements in the public arena. Hybrid traditions of garden making, mostly drawing upon the colonial picturesque, become a frame for political rhetoric.

CHAPTER 11

Tapovan

Although no gardens of ancient India survive or have been unearthed in archaeological excavations, literature and paintings hold a clue to the view of nature as sacred and sentient, and a source of aesthetic experience. Ancient Sanskrit epics and dramas, and Buddhist and Jain canon, are valuable sources of garden representations in text and word images. Gardening was one of sixty-four *kala*s (arts) of ancient India, and garden groves were categorized as *upvan*, *arama*, *udyan*, and *vatika*. In his classic text *Kamasutra*, written around the sixth century BCE, Vatsyayan describes *pushpa-vatika*s (flower gardens) in dwellings with fragrant flowers, fruit trees, and vegetables planted around a well or a water tank. Pleasure gardens were part of private royal palace complexes and there were public parks (*nagarupvan*) for all citizens.[1] During the monsoon season the Buddha stayed in *arama*s on the outskirts of cities he visited—Rajagriha, Shravasti, Saket, Vaishali, Koshambi, and Kapilvastu—after his enlightenment.[2]

In Sanskrit literature, personified nature plays a major role in the narrative, and invokes *rasa* (emotion in its essential aspect) in human beings. Indic aesthetic theory is based upon emotional expression in performance—a combination of drama, dance, and music—leading to an experience of *rasa*. According to Bharata Muni, author of the ancient second-century Sanskrit text *Natyashastra*, *sthayi bhava* (lasting emotions) performed in theater (or other art forms) is experienced as

rasa. The eight or nine rasas are considered to be universal emotions and can be performed through training. The aesthetic experience shared "in the gut" between the performer and audience, is sensual and cerebral, somatic and intellectual.[3]

The plot usually unfolds in gardens or natural landscapes where nature shares the emotional states of major protagonists—*shringar* and *viraha* as examples of rasas infusing those who are in love or suffering from pangs of sorrow caused by separation from the beloved. Nature is interwoven in the narrative, carrying the plot forward, and at times becoming a protagonist in subplots. As such, it performs a crucial role in the story ensuring its representation in all art forms. Word-imagery of garden landscapes and their visual images in paintings convey rasa shared by humans and nature. Garden images in Indian art, based upon oral and textual narrative traditions, are strongly influenced by demands of storytelling. As a form of narrative art, medieval court paintings follow stylistic conventions that depict the unfolding plot, actions, and synoptic representation of the passage of time in space.[4] Sequential episodes are depicted within the picture frame, not necessarily in linear order. Paintings are like stage sets except that the performers are virtual, not real. Often a bird's-eye view enables the viewer to see the unfolding events in wide perspective, complete with props that add meaning to the scene. Natural elements are iconic, with their visual representations ranging from schematic to realistic personifications.

Ramayana, the great epic of India, has been narrated, sung, and rewritten for more than a millennium. It has also been enacted, carved, and painted in multiple media. An extremely powerful and rich corpus of textual and visual traditions have received their impetus from *Ramayana*'s themes. The remarkable congruence between word and image has ensured that abstract concepts are vividly illustrated and permeate the narrator's, performer's, reader's, and viewer's consciousness to reside in collective memory. Nature as an allegory of struggle between good and evil is one of the central tenets of the story and has been represented as such in medieval court paintings. The protagonists of the *Ramayana* narrative—Rama, Sita, and Lakshman—are exemplary models of human behavior, inspiring the reader and the listener to emulate them in leading a righteous life. The protective powers of nature are harnessed toward the ultimate victory of good over evil. The easy flux between human and nonhuman

worlds and anthropomorphism of nature in the narrative speaks the language of myth and romance.

Ramayana paintings on cloth, paper, and walls are both objects of devotion and mnemonic aids in storytelling in miniatures. Scrolls were made by itinerant bards for public recitation of *Ramayana*, and miniatures were produced through collaboration between artist and scribe in the royal court.[5] The visual illustrations present the characters and settings in vivid colors and shapes, thus anchoring them firmly in individual and collective memories. Landscapes are almost never the sole subject of the *Ramayana* artist, although Mughal and paintings produced in the courts of Chamba and Guler-Kangra show hills, streams, and foliage.[6] Landscape is a setting for human and divine actions but rarely a framed view and a source of aesthetic appreciation in and of itself. *Ramayana* miniatures flesh out the contrast between wilderness and gardens, portray vivid personifications of nature, and evoke feelings inspired by rasa.

The miniatures celebrate a way of seeing, a mode of landscape perception unique to the cultural ethos. Although miniature paintings are not exclusively about landscapes as they are in the Western genre, nature is always present in the picture frame. Vision is not a distant sense encompassing panoramic views of landscapes but is almost tactile in the perception of immediacy. Landscapes are not framed as distant views but range from abstracted elements to fully fleshed-out decorative details that loom close, pressing in their nearness. Colors are "hot" and in their vividness and saturation they render the landscape not as extending out in the distance but nearby. Their startling immediacy and dynamism, created in large part from synoptic mode of depiction, create an unusual aesthetic and emotional effect, evoking *bhav*s (feelings) appropriate to the theme.[7]

The symbolic meanings of landscape representations are best captured in the idea of natural archetypes, which I use in the Platonic sense of ideal form. Archetypes are believed to reside deep in the collective unconscious and are manifested as images in the physical world. Religious myths and folklore are rich in archetypal imagery in South and Southeast Asia, and *Ramayana* offers much in this regard. Trees, rivers, and mountains are archetypal natural elements whose meanings are derived from the part they play in the story and are resonant with widely held meanings within the culture at large. They combine to form *tapovan*,

FIGURE 11.1. Rama, Sita, and Lakshman on Chitrakut Mountain, Mewar, 1649–1654. Credit: British Library.

an archetypal cultural landscape exemplified in hills overlooking a confluence of rivers and forest clearings, inhabited and imprinted by human actions and invested with symbolic meanings. The garden grove and tapovan are settings of the unfolding narrative, not just as a pleasant backdrop but contributing in an essential way to the meaning of the episode. Their representation in narrative art forms is a deliberate gesture intended to create an enhanced emotional affect.

Literally translated as "a forest of austerity," tapovan is a pastoral landscape

of benign and bountiful nature where sages built their *ashram*s and Rama, Sita, and Lakshman spent their fourteen years of exile.[8] The landscape of tapovan is an antithesis to wilderness, where demons lurk, imbuing their surroundings with chaos of moral dissolution. In contrast, tapovans are islands of order and Eden-like sylvan settings, natural gardens of great beauty where beasts of prey live in amity and hermits meditate, compose philosophical treatises, and perform sacrifices. Here fears and dangers of wilderness are banished, and nature spirits are beneficent and kind to humans. Nature appears to turn a benign face and is munificent with rich offerings of fruits and flowers. The pastoral landscape is imbued with the penance of sages who live in forests to be away from distractions of the urban milieu. The moral force generated by their austerities purifies nature of its dangerous, violent aspects, rendering it kind and harmless.

Mountains are a key feature in the tapovan of Ram, Sita, and Lakshman's exile. They are sites of habitation, offering a refuge from the hostile landscape as well as an environment rich in bounties of nature. Chitrakut Mountain, where Ram, Sita, and Lakshman spend many happy years of their long exile, overlooks the confluence of the Mandakini and Payasvani rivers. Riverfronts are places for bathing and listening to learned discourses by sages. In depictions of tapovan, animals inhabit the landscape signifying nature's lushness and variety. As gentle creatures living in harmony with each other, they infuse the landscape with goodness and compassion, with none of the violence and terror of wilderness. Pairs of swans, peacocks, and deer, symbols of love, add charm to the landscape and aid in creating a sylvan, idyllic setting.

The palace gardens of Ayodhya, Janakpuri, and Lanka are pleasure settings designed for sensual delight and enjoyment where nature is controlled not through austerities but by human design. They are depicted with pavilions, water channels, and pools and filled with aromatic flowering vines wrapped around trees and flowering shrubs in medieval paintings. The garden in Janakpuri where Ram and Sita first meet and fall in love has a shrine to the goddess Parvati and in other *vatika*s (groves) small shrines are common. Sita experiences intense *viraha* (separation from the beloved) when she is abducted by Ravan and held captive in the garden grove Ashokvan in Lanka. The ashoka trees in the grove share her anguish.

FIGURE 11.2. View of *tapovan* on Betwa riverfront. Credit: Amita Sinha.

The significance of tapovan transcends those of individual sites—Ayodhya, Chitrakut, and Hampi—pilgrim destinations that draw their sacredness from epic events. Their forms and meanings are evident in the wider cultural landscape of India where trees are landmarks and resting places, rivers are crossings to the distant lands and other worlds, and mountains are for building shrines. This archetypal vocabulary is a form of cultural capital, that can be drawn upon in recultivating the idea of sacred landscape, and by extension all of inhabited land as a garden.[9] The garden metaphor can guide restoration of groves and water bodies, cleaning up of polluted rivers, and protection of sacred hills.

FIGURE 12.1. Rambagh on Yamuna riverfront in Agra. Credit: Amita Sinha.

CHAPTER 12

Indo-Islamic Garden

The urban landscape of India began to transform with Islamic conquests. The domes and minarets of mosques replaced temple *shikhara*s, and palaces and mansions were designed with Islamic-style ornamentation. The regular and symmetrical garden appeared, as an extension of palatine architecture and as an autonomous entity in the larger landscape. The Indo-Islamic garden, in celebrating the idea of paradise as a garden, touches a chord of the universal human response. It can be read at best as a great work of art, at worst an icon of luxury meant for a tiny number of privileged few. It embodied a view of nature that Islam brought to the subcontinent and reordered the landscape through large-scale engineering works. The most innovative contribution of Islamic culture to the designed landscape was the Mughal garden, whose mutant form survived until the beginning of the twentieth century. Arriving with Babur, the first Mughal emperor, in 1526, the Mughal garden held sway for more than three centuries and outlasted the Mughals themselves in the gardens of Rajput rulers of western and central India.

As a pleasure or tomb garden, the Indo-Islamic garden lined riverbanks, nestled in palace courtyards, and became a resting place on major highways entering a city. It could justifiably be traced to the spatial archetype of the cross within a square and the Qu'ranic image of paradise—flowing water channels, shady groves, and viewing pavilions.[1] Exclusive to royalty and nobility, it was a clear

emblem of authority and a theatrical stage setting in the exercise of power. The *charbagh* (four-square garden) and its variants expressed in intricate geometric parti of raised stone walkways and flowing water channels celebrated a vision of nature different from the indigenous view. The Qu'ranic vision of paradise as a garden was translated into earthly gardens that marked territorial conquest of a territory.

The tradition of using gardens as an instrument in founding and expanding a settlement extends back to Babur, who built gardens at his sites of encampment on the banks of the River Yamuna as he pushed into the interior of Hindustan in his final military campaign. These gardens were landscapes of conquest reflecting the garden traditions of Samarkand and Kabul brought by Babur to the hot and dusty Hindustan.[2] The garden was a pleasure setting in a ruler's lifetime and a backdrop to his magnificent mausoleum erected after his death. Like European gardens of the same period, such as the one at Versailles in France, Mughal gardens bent nature to human will in grandiloquent gestures, creating a sense of supreme order by framing vision in long, sweeping vistas. Strategically located pavilions and *chattri*s commanded panoramic views within the garden and beyond it, a continuing reminder of the ruler's dominion.

In elaborate waterworks, water was drawn from wells dug in the riverbed by teams of oxen working the pulleys, conveyed by aqueducts, and stored in cisterns at ever-increasing heights, building enough pressure for water to erupt in hundreds of fountains in the gardens. In the terraced gardens in the plains of north India or in Kashmir, water cascaded down from one level to the next, collected in pools with island platforms, and splashed over *chini-khana*s (niches) in *savan-bhadon* (monsoon) pavilions. Many new and exotic varieties of flowering and fruit trees were planted in patterns that echoed the woolen and silk carpets made in the royal *karkhana*s (workshops). The night-blooming and fragrant flowering shrubs and vines created aromatic landscapes that came into their own as the evening cooled into the night. The Mughal design aesthetic was tied to a distinctive garden experience in which the cultural modes of etiquette and expressive behavior, solitude and social interaction, leisure, and ceremony were guided by spatial layout and architectural elements. The pavilions were more than viewpoints; they were sites of coronation and were thus part of the state apparatus for display and commemoration.

FIGURE 12.2. Mahtab Bagh on Yamuna riverfront in Agra. Credit: Amita Sinha.

The seventeenth-century Shalimar Bagh, on the banks of the River Ravi in Lahore (now in Pakistan), is an example of how the Qu'ranic image of paradise was adapted to serve as a pleasure setting that also displayed the power and authority of the Mughal court. The archetype of charbagh reproduced the spatial layout of the Mughal military camp. Its terraces reflected the spatial hierarchy of the Mughal court and were a theatrical backdrop to the exercise of power in court rituals. They controlled the degree of access—the summer house of the emperor was located on the uppermost terrace at the end of the central axis overlooking the entire garden and he received petitions in the *diwan-i-am* (hall of public audience) in the lowest terrace. The middle terrace had pleasure pavilions and the emperor's marble throne in a large water tank and a sunken room with walls of water cascading over the niches. Visual axes formed by buildings, water channels, and pathways directed the sightline to the emperor's living quarters and the court.[3] A similar pattern was followed in the palace fort complex in Lahore where the emperor's private quarters, and the halls of private and public audience were separated by charbaghs. The landscape of power indicated the Mughal emperor's claim to divine kingship as a viceregent of Allah on earth.[4]

The suburban Shalimar gardens of Lahore and Delhi were situated along the Grand Trunk Road and, as resting places for the emperor's entourage, were elaborately designed and renowned for their beauty compared to the orchards surrounding them. As one amid a larger, green landscape, the royal garden had a buffer zone that protected it (although who would encroach on a royal garden?) but also ensured long views over walls and shared sources of water and plant materials. In this respect, gardens along the Grand Trunk Road were very similar to gardens on the riverfront in Agra where the Yamuna was a transportation artery in addition to a source of irrigation. Riverfront gardens with raised terraces were deliberately sited to take advantage of the views of the Yamuna while protecting them from its flooding. They guided the building of Mughal palaces in Agra and Shahjahanabad.[5] In addition to those in palaces of Agra Fort, dozens of walled gardens lined both banks of the river, including pleasure gardens such as Ram Bagh, Bagh-i-Jahanara, and the Mahtab Bagh, and tomb gardens such as Chini-ka-rauza and Itmad-ud-daulah. Of the forty-four gardens on the Yamuna riverfront shown in an early eighteenth-century map, only a handful survive, and largely so because of their monuments, the most famous being the Taj Mahal.

Taj was deliberately located on the bend of the river so that it could be visible from the pavilions of the Red Fort and from Mahtab Bagh across the river. The landscape was presented as a series of vistas from the pavilions on high terraces in the gardens—long views to the river and to the walled charbagh below.

The Gomti riverfront in Lucknow in the Nawabi period (1775–1856) was an elite landscape of palace and suburban gardens, country houses, and parkland. This landscape evolved quickly as each succeeding Nawab sought to make a political statement through grand architectural gestures—secular and religious. Although opinions about Nawabi architectural style vary—ranging from "bastardized" to "hybrid"—architectural historians and critics agree that the jumble of buildings that constituted a palace complex were related to each other through courts and gardens.[6] A complex interior landscape emerged in which space flowed easily between indoors and outdoors. That three out of four palaces were situated on the riverbank and one not too far away is indicative of the value placed on what proximity to a river afforded—cooling breezes and expansive views, boat rides for pleasure, a relief from the heat and congestion of the city, and a plentiful source of water to the many gardens within the palace complex. While the high walls of Macchi Bhavan, built on a hill, presented a fortress-like appearance, Farhat Baksh was built into the river with arched openings that allowed the water to flow into the lower floors.[7] Rooftop terraces and pavilions were an opportunity to linger and enjoy the river in all its moods from a high vantage point.

Walled gardens on the river, built independently of palaces, were a retreat to which the Nawabs and their *begum*s retired often. Vilayaiti Bagh, named after Ghazi-ud-din's European wife, and Hazoori Bagh had dainty pavilions and water channels. For more aggressive pursuits, there were park grounds on the riverbank where partridges and quails were hunted, and elephant fights were staged.[8] Country houses such as Musa Bagh, Bibiapur Kothi, and Dilkusha, though designed in the style of European villas and quite unlike the other palace complexes, were also deliberately built on the banks of the Gomti and were used as weekend retreats by Nawabs and their retinue.[9]

Although the Gomti riverfront landscape was similar to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Yamuna riverfront in Agra lined by Mughal gardens and palaces, the differences lay in the extent of development and also in the quality

of its components. Nawabi architecture and gardens were derivative of Mughal design style, yet different. The passage of a century and half had ensured that new influences on architectural form and detailing would creep in, most notably European. This resulted from the nexus of political and commercial relationships between the Shia rulers and Europeans in their court.[10] Claude Martin, the French superintendent of Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah's arsenal, through his unusually designed buildings on the riverfront—Farhat Baksh, Musa Bagh, and La Martiniere—set in motion new trends followed in many Nawabi buildings. These buildings were designed with the landscape—Musa Bagh/Barowen was built into a hill at its rear while its grand front opened into the Gomti that entered the lower floors of Farhat Baksh. It was initially a walled Nawabi charbagh laid out by Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah. In 1803–1804, Barowen, based upon Claude Martin's design, was built by his half brother Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, and overlooked the garden. It was a country house used for entertaining guests and for watching stag fights on the far bank of the Gomti, which used to flow only three hundred yards away.[11] Further downstream, Constantia—Martin's mausoleum—was built on the Gomti floodplain with its seven-story monumental façade and was fronted by a 120-foot-high lighthouse in an artificial lake.[12]

The Gomti is no longer the edge of Lucknow or a transportation artery but it remains the only venue from where stretches of historic buildings can be glimpsed. The last two decades have seen "beautification" of the riverfront but missing in these endeavors is the conscious effort to celebrate Lucknow's cultural heritage. With the exception of Vilayaiti Bagh, all traces of Nawabi riverfront gardens have disappeared, and in the absence of archival or archaeological evidence there is little incentive to reconstruct them. Heritage revitalization in this context means not the re-creation of historic settings but a strengthening of the extant historic fabric and the river, achieved through creative interpretation of past landscapes. Gomti can be visualized as an aquatic heritage trail with boat rides to historic buildings and gardens arrayed along its banks.

CHAPTER 13

Colonial Garden

The romantic view of nature as a refuge from the ills of the congested city and a source of moral goodness and spiritual solace was brought by Europeans to the Indian subcontinent. Invoking mystery and surprise by imitating nature contrasted with the geometric order and symmetry inherent in the Mughal garden. The colonial picturesque was an attempt to mimic the English picturesque park derived from hills and countryside of the Lake District, Wales, and Scotland in the colony.[1] In their spatial vocabulary, plant materials, location, and associated meanings, colonial gardens were a clear departure from garden traditions of the past. Victorian ideas about gardens as collections of flora and fauna, as memorial sites, and as spaces for solitary contemplation of nature governed their layout and substance. They were meant to ameliorate the squalor and crowdedness of the native city, its miasma, and its contaminants. They mimicked nature in serpentine lines and mounded forms; and collected flora and fauna that Europeans were discovering in the Indian subcontinent. Nature was a collectible good based upon its scientific value, in stark contrast to its divine associations in the Hindu worldview, and to its purely aesthetic qualities in Islamic culture. The colonial garden achieved the status of a quasi-public park, meant for enjoyment of the resident European community in the Indian city as it grew in the postmutiny era. It accommodated new kinds of active sports—tennis, badminton, cricket, polo, and hockey—in addition to such

passive recreational pursuits as strolling and promenading, social get-togethers, and solitary contemplation of nature.

Momentous changes in the nineteenth century in political and economic spheres had far-reaching impacts on the cultural landscape of the subcontinent. A new landscape idiom was introduced in the Indian city—open space no longer was internalized in walled gardens and enclosed courtyards but formed the context of detached buildings. The mixed-use preindustrial urban pattern existed in an uneasy juxtaposition with the colonial city and its separation of residential and commercial. Cantonments for the armed forces and civil lines for European officers in gridiron layouts became the new centers of power built at a distance from the overcrowded and unhygienic indigenous settlement. The tree-lined mall made its appearance, as did botanical and zoological gardens, polo, parade, and racecourse grounds, and memorial gardens, all designed in the picturesque style. New landscape types such as soldiers' garden, archaeological park, and hill station were reproduced across the Indian subcontinent. Equestrian activities were at the center of recreational life in the colonial culture. The Imperial Horse Show, All-India Polo Tournament, racecourse competitions, and daily horse riding shaped a landscape of open grounds and tree-lined avenues.[2] The one-to-five-acre bungalow compounds supported outdoor forms of leisurely socializing in garden parties, afternoon teas, and receptions.

The urban landscape of cities such as Lucknow began to transform in the mid-nineteenth century. Public parks were built for the expanding European population in the civil lines and the military cantonment in Lucknow as elsewhere in the Indian subcontinent.[3] Many private royal gardens disappeared, and a few, such as Sikandar Bagh and Banarasi Bagh, were transformed into public botanical and zoological gardens. The English picturesque guided the transformation of the Nawabi charbagh into an irregular landscape of spreading lawns and winding paths. Their uses changed from purely recreational spaces for the elite to sites of zoological and botanical collection and production, signaling the transformation of privately owned and used space into the institutional and public realm.

Parks with new concepts of nature, aesthetic order, leisure, and recreation were built in the demolished quarters of the old medieval city, and within and around the royal palaces. A two-hundred-meter swathe was cleared around

FIGURE 13.1. Botanical gardens in Lucknow. Credit: Amita Sinha.

the Nawabi fort of Macchi Bhavan and it became the focal point of three five-hundred-meter roads (one named Victoria Street) built by Robert Napier, a military engineer in charge of rebuilding Lucknow after the mutiny.[4] This urban surgery, a bid to quell any further uprising through rapid movement of troops, not only opened the walled Nawabi palaces to public gaze but also cleared land for park building. The colonial era commemorated the imperial regime and its figurehead—Queen Victoria—in numerous parks across the country.[5] At Lucknow too, a Victoria Park was built in the historic city in front of the Chowk, the spine of old Lucknow, as a memorial to the East India Company, with a bronze statue of Victoria erected in her jubilee year, 1892. An ornate marble canopy in the Indo-saracenic style, Victoria Memorial was built in a park north of the partially demolished Kaiserbagh, the last Nawabi palace complex. In 1972 this park was renamed Begum Hazrat Mahal Park, after the wife of Wajid Ali Shah, last Nawab of Lucknow, who led the mutinous Indian forces in the uprising. Like other parks, it has spacious green lawns, water channels and fountains, and wide paths.

With the passage of time and waning of Mughal power and court culture, the Indo-Islamic garden was "rediscovered" and modified in the light of European ways of seeing, appreciating, and being in the landscape. The private Mughal gardens, such as Shalimar Bagh in Lahore, began to be used by the colonial administrators for public functions. The tomb gardens became comfortable picturesque settings for colonial residences, schools, churches, and offices. The quintessential memorial park of the colonial era in Lucknow is the Residency Memorial, which commemorates a traumatic event in British history when 6,398 people were besieged by Indian insurgents for six months in the uprising of 1857 in the thirty-three acres of the Residency complex. The battle-scarred buildings were preserved amid rolling green landscape of lawns and shrubs, obelisks, and cenotaphs, and a cemetery in verdant surroundings. The main Residency building is preserved as a memorial museum complete with a clay model of the entire complex, paintings and lithographs of the event, and portraits.[6] Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) has continued to maintain it and refurbished it a few years ago by adding the Indian version of the uprising in the basement gallery to commemorate 150 years since the event.[7] In spite of ASI recent efforts to reinscribe the site as memorial to the Indian resistance instead of a symbol of British

FIGURE 13.2. Residency Memorial Park in Lucknow. Credit: Amita Sinha.

victory, a certain degree of heritage dissonance remains.[8] The annotated map at the Bailey Guard entry, signage describing the historic buildings, the sound and light show every evening, and the museum exhibits make the historical markers legible. The site is part of the mutiny pilgrimage taken by Europeans who have an interest or a personal familial connection to the events of 1857–1858.[9] It is popular with tourists and Lucknow residents, the number of visitors reaching more than four thousand in the tourist season, per the record of visitors kept by ASI.

Of the two models of the colonial park that have endured into postcolonial times, the memorial park has spawned new variations and achieved a monumental scale while the other—the garden as a collection of botanical and zoological specimens—has survived as a viable institution in the contemporary city but has had only marginal impact on new park design. The ubiquitous connection of monuments and public parks can be traced back to the colonial picturesque tradition in which the historic building or its ruins are seen as follies in a verdant landscape. The tradition survives with few attempts to restore or imaginatively re-create the original landscape of palace, pleasure, and tomb gardens.

CHAPTER 14

Garden City

Nature as wilderness, and city, the epitome of civilization, were no longer defined in opposition to each other in colonial India. Attempts were made to integrate nature into the urban fabric in the form of greenery in public parks and private gardens. Ebenezer Howard's book *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* offered planning principles for combining the best of country and town in small, self-sufficient communities surrounded by greenbelts.[1] The garden city ideal, perceived as an antidote to the congested and polluted industrial city, became popular and influenced town planning worldwide. Jamshedpur, a novel experiment in town planning in eastern India, was popularly known as a "garden city" although it is a factory town. Nature became a public good in Jamshedpur, in contrast to the preindustrial city, where it was a source of aesthetic delight in the private gardens of royalty and nobility. Jamshedji Tata, after whom the city is named, exhorted his son Dorabji in 1902 to "lay wide streets planted with shady trees, every other of quick variety," to provide "plenty of space for lawns and gardens," to "reserve large areas for football, hockey and parks" and "earmark areas for Hindu temples, Mohammedan mosques and Christian churches."[2] A modern sensibility is evident in Jamshedji Tata's belief in religious pluralism and the value he placed on greenery as a remedy to social ills and open spaces as settings for play and recreation. His progressive outlook shaped Jamshedpur's growth into an industrial city that had no precedents in South Asia.[3]

The origins of the steel city lay in a small company town built from a camp in the tiny tribal village of Sakchi. The site possessed many advantages and most important among all was the discovery of iron ore at Gurumahisini Hill in Mayurbhunj state at a distance of forty-five miles, as well as the quick means of transportation to Calcutta port afforded by Kalimati railway station on the Calcutta-Bombay railway link, only three miles away. The 3,280-foot-high Dalma hill range towered over the confluence of the river Subarnarekha and its tributary Kharkhai in a thickly forested region where only a few tribal hamlets subsisting on rice cultivation on terraced ridge slopes and on forest produce existed.

Tata Steel acquired 3,564 acres of waste land in Sakchi and a few neighboring villages on the undulating central ridge that formed a watershed between the rivers Subarnarekha and Kharkhai. The site was graded in 1907–1909 for building the steel plant at the highest point on the western spur, railway tracks were laid from main line at Kalimati, and factory units constructed along them. The Pittsburgh firm of Julian Kennedy and Axel Sahlin, awarded the contract for the designing and engineering works, built the original company town between 1909 and 1912 for housing the managers and skilled workers. Site exigencies dictated the location of housing on high ground on the ridge spurs on the northwest and western fringes of the steel plant to ensure protection from the factory dust carried by the prevailing western winds. The town was laid out in the gridiron North American settlement pattern, with alphabetically named "roads" running east-west and numbered "avenues" running north-south.

The company town, designed for ten thousand residents with few public spaces, became the nucleus for later growth of Jamshedpur into the industrial township. Tata Steel profits from sales of steel plates and rivets in World War I led to increased steel production. It therefore began the Great Extensions Program in 1917 by building more blast furnaces, coke ovens, machine shops, and foundries. The number of workers had increased to 18,675 and the company acquired an additional 12,215 acres for accommodating the growth. Frederick Charles Temple, sanitary engineer for Orissa and Bihar states, was appointed chief engineer of Jamshedpur to plan the growing township.[4]

Temple's plan not only brought nature in the city but also integrated the urban form with the existing landscape. The close attention given by Temple to landscape in planning the urban infrastructure went far beyond the conservancy

Figure 14.1. Confluence of Swarnarekha and Kharkhai in Jamshedpur. Credit: Amita Sinha.

approach practiced by civic improvement trusts of nineteenth-century colonial India. Temple's training as a sanitary engineer was undoubtedly instrumental in developing the gravitational sewerage system, street system adapted to the contours, and the parkway system in natural swales. His insightful reading of how the earlier tribal settlements had utilized the topography in building their huts and cart-tracks influenced his proposal for extending the street system. He designed the street system based upon the cart-tracks on the ridge line and parkways in the gullies as loops instead of indiscriminately imposing the grid on the undulating terrain. The inner loop connected the already developed core to areas on the north, east, and west, while the outer-level lower loop with an intercepting sewer protected the riverfront from industrial and town waste and preserved its scenic quality.

The street and drainage systems, along the ridges and gullies, resulted in an open-space system of parks and parkways distributed throughout the town. Dry weather flow was carried in the surface drains along the contours while the overflow stormwater irrigated the parkways in swales. A waterborne sewerage system was introduced, and sewage, instead of emptying into the rivers, was collected from underground gravity sewers, and pumped into the purification plant. The manure was used as fertilizer in a sewage farm. Temple sought to accommodate the tribal ways of life in neighborhoods with a hexagonal settlement pattern, two of which were built in Sonari and Kasidih. They consisted of small clusters of twelve huts surrounding a central open space, all enclosed by hexagonal roads five hundred feet apart. The water tank and bathing platforms in the center were similar to the tanks in tribal settlements around which families would build their huts on their own.

Unlike the archetypal garden city proposed by Ebenezer Howard, industry was at the center, not on the periphery, of the township. The brute power of industrial machinery was being tamed by placing it amid greenery as the city grew around the steel factory. The "machine in the garden" metaphor captures its planning ethos. Tree-lined avenues and parks became the new public spaces. Jubilee Park was built in 1958 to commemorate the golden jubilee of the city and become the nucleus of a larger park system. The belief that salubrious greenery would improve worker health and thereby his productivity was based upon an intuitive understanding of nature being therapeutic, now supported by current scientific research.

Jamshedpur began to be perceived as a garden city. In 1945, J. R. D. Tata, Chairman of Tata Steel, remarked: "Lying at the picturesque confluence of two broad rivers, in the shelter of wooded hills, Jamshedpur provides a notable example of a Garden City admirably serving the needs of a great industry and the people whom it supports. The Company has some reason to be proud of the city they have built out of the jungle, and which today harbors a population of over 1,50,000."

World War II spurred steel production, causing a larger workforce to be employed that needed to be housed. Otto Koenigsberger, chief architect of the Princely State of Mysore, was asked to prepare a development plan.[5] He further extended the garden city ideal by recommending a greenbelt on the two riverfronts and a generous dose of green spaces inside the town. His more important contribution was designating the ongoing housing development in neighborhood units. This concept, introduced by Clarence Parry in 1929, was gathering prominence in planning discourse and was to become an important tool of master plans worldwide. It advocated a pedestrian community centered on a school with a local market and other public conveniences on the periphery. Heavy vehicular traffic through the neighborhood would be restricted through a hierarchical street system.

Many innovative programs for disease control, water sanitation, waste management, and urban greenery as an antidote to air pollution were introduced. Unlike a municipality that levies taxes, a Notified Area Committee consisting of Tata management governs the city through the town planning division (now reconfigured as Jamshedpur Utilities and Services Company, JUSCO) with company funds. In addition to housing, Tata Steel provides the employees with water, sanitation, electricity, schools, and medical and recreational facilities. Its regulatory powers have proved effective because they exceed the average municipal functions. The management practices have ensured the long-term success of town planning in Jamshedpur.

The city reconciled seemingly opposing entities—machine and nature—in a pastoral landscape, where both utilitarian and aesthetic views of nature found a home. The manufacture of steel and other industrial products left their detritus for nature to camouflage and perhaps even heal the scars on the landscape. Jamshedpur's legacy consists in being a model experiment in how to design with

FIGURE 14.2. Jubilee Park in Jamshedpur. Credit: Amita Sinha.

the land. The master plans of Temple and Koenigsberger, though partially implemented, made the industrial township a case study in ecological and community planning. Temple's plan was sensitive to the lay of the land and based upon a close study of natural forms and processes as well as the indigenous settlement pattern. It was the forerunner to the late Ian McHarg's approach to designing with nature and the current thinking on designing landscape as infrastructure. The design concepts used Jamshedpur's plans—building on ridges, parkways in low-lying areas, street hierarchy, and the neighborhood unit—are even more relevant today. They encompass a sustainable approach to planning by building on higher ground; using natural drainage, bioremediation, open space network for active recreation; and taking advantage of the opportunity for building neighborhood communities.

Jamshedpur represents a regional variation of the universal garden city prototype. The garden city image is resonant with many aspects of Jamshedpur—its low density, plentiful greenery, and well-designed bungalows—although the city is the inverse of the prototype, with industry instead of a garden at the center. The flexibility of the original idea allowed its application in widely different cultural, institutional, and economic contexts, including one of a company town that grew to be the first industrial city in South Asia.[6]

After one hundred years of existence, it is time for Jamshedpur to take stock of its planning heritage. The new avatar of the garden city is the green city characterized by greenbelts and preserved open space accessible from population centers.[7] Jamshedpur can build upon the symbolic capital bequeathed by the international garden city movement taking root in the remote eastern corner of colonial India in the early twentieth century by refurbishing its image as a green city of the twenty-first century. Investment in green technologies, innovative environmental remediation programs, and greenways will build its reputation as the green city and a model for new development in South Asia.[8]

FIGURE 15.1. Kuria Ghat Park in Lucknow. Credit: Amita Sinha.

CHAPTER 15

Municipal Park

The view of nature as therapeutic with parks as relief from urban congestion played a significant role in the public hygiene movement in nineteenth-century town planning. In the postcolonial era in India public parks have remained an effective planning tool in providing an antidote to high urban density, attracting new development, and preventing encroachment by the landless and homeless. While the colonial park excluded the native Indian, its postcolonial version keeps out the marginalized squatter, the vendor, and the rural migrant. Archaeological parks continue the colonial legacy; the influence of the English landscape park is visible in the manner in which heritage buildings are set in rolling green lawns and incongruously framed by columnar ashoka trees. Some are well-used public places such as Lodhi Gardens in New Delhi, while others appear to serve no other purpose than to provide a green, neutral foil to monuments that would have been likely situated in open spaces very different in character from the landscape park.

Lucknow has seen a large increase in park building since the late 1990s. The proliferation of green spaces in the city has given it a facelift, contributed to its image through cultural identity markers, and provided an opportunity for a free play of ideological rhetoric in park iconography. A majority of these parks contain statuary, memorial plaques, inscriptions, and other historical references. They commemorate political leaders, social reformers, mythic figures, past

events in the city's history, national struggle for independence, and social reform movements. They reiterate Lucknow's unique cultural identity and its significance as the political capital of the most populous state in the country.[1]

The memorial parks in the center and periphery of the city include those created by preserving its historic architectural monuments in picturesque landscapes and those that celebrate the mythic cultural identity of the city, region, and the larger Indic civilization and the newly emerging political ideologies of postindependent India. They are reminiscent of the colonial park aesthetic in their layouts and planting and, with the exception of the monument park, are dependent upon an extensive iconographic program of statuary and plaques for memorialization. They are postcolonial attempts to recover a cultural self from a mythic precolonial past and to carve out a party-based political identity in the public realm. The design vocabulary of the colonial park—wide expanses of lawn, winding paths, shrubbery and flowerbeds, curvilinear bodies of water, and statuary at focal points—is employed with minor variations in the postcolonial park.

Derelict spaces on the riverfront and at other sites have been converted into parks that celebrate Lucknow's cultural history and founding myths. The city traces its origin to Lakshman, brother of Rama, founding a settlement on the banks of the Gomti. Lakshman Park, in the heart of the old city, has a statue of Lakshman carrying a bow and arrow. Kuria Ghat, an old bathing and cremation site, has been rebuilt with a raised brick plaza with a statue of Gomti as a goddess, lawns at two levels, *chattri*s, *ghat*s, and *dharmashala*s. This park is a tribute to the Gomti's contribution to the urban cultural of Lucknow. Suraj Kund Park, designed by the late Muhammad Shaheer, commemorates the ancient solar cult associated with a water tank. Sited adjacent to the city planetarium, it celebrates the stellar world in iconography and inscriptions. A plaza with busts of Indian astronomers, mathematicians, and scientists under chattris overlooks the stepped tank—Suraj Kund. On the other side of the plaza are planet gardens with vertical tablets containing information on the astrological significance of and astronomical data on each planet.

As did other Indian cities, Lucknow continued the imperial tradition of erecting statues in memorial parks and city crossroads. Statues of the leaders of the freedom movement, some of whom went on to hold office in the government of independent India and of its largest state, Uttar Pradesh, were erected

Figure 15.2. Suraj Kund Park in Lucknow. Credit: Amita Sinha.

in parks, plazas, and street crossings. Rajendra Prasad, the first president of India, finds a place in Globe Park, the central feature of which is a large globe surrounded by a rose garden. In the vicinity are small parks dedicated to leaders of the state government. Sarojini Park is named after the first governor of Uttar Pradesh, Sarojini Naidu, a freedom fighter and Congress Party leader, and has bust of her on a raised terrace overlooking a large lawn with giraffe topiary. A bust of Chandra Bhanu Gupta, a three-time chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, is the focus of a small, vest pocket park. Mahatma Gandhi under a canopy can be seen at a street crossing in Hazratganj, the main commercial area of Lucknow; not too far away from him, near the general post office, is Sardar Vallabh Patel, India's first home minister, standing beneath a triangular canopy in a rundown park.

Scattered references to national and state leaders have evolved into dominance of political and ideological representation in public spaces.[2] The last decade has seen a new kind of memorial park that commemorates party ideology, its leaders, and social reformers who have inspired the party leadership. The scope of memorial making has broadened beyond the state and its representatives to competing party ideologies revolving around harbingers of historic social change and their cooptation into current political rhetoric. The small municipal park derived from a colonial memorial park containing a statue or two has become monumentalized; that is, made grandiose in conception and lavish in details and execution. The size and number of statues has proliferated, as have canopies, buildings, and gateways in the ever-increasing park area. The large numbers of inscriptions, statuary, murals, and dioramas together with a contrived design vocabulary encourage both literal and metaphoric readings of the park. The memorial park/plaza thus becomes a didactic statement and a representational tool of political rhetoric.

Ambedkar Sthal and Ram Manohar Lohia Park, adjacent memorial parks in southeastern Lucknow, compete with each other in their size and amenities. They represent rival political parties—Bahajun Samaj Party (BSP) and Samajwadi Party (SP)—and are deliberate exercises in upstaging each other. Ram Manohar Lohia Park, also designed by the late landscape architect Muhammad Shaheer in 2004, is spread over eighty-five acres and walled with five gateways. Six memorial cylindrical pillars with embedded steel plaques on the leaders of the SP

FIGURE 15.3. Ram Manohar Lohia Park in Lucknow. Credit: Amita Sinha.

and its predecessor Socialist Party line the walkways. The central feature of the park is the memorial site Ram Manohar Smarak Sthal, where a tall statue of the Samajwadi leader on a pedestal, encircled by four pylons, has been erected on a large raised plaza.

Janeshwar Mishra Park designed by Surinder Suneja in 2014 is another large park (376 acres) with a 25-foot statue of the leader of the Samajwadi Party as its focal point in axis with a 125-foot flagstaff flying the Indian flag. It has exhibits of a fighter jet and train set within rolling lawns, lake, and bike paths and jogging trails. Built on the Gomti floodplain, it makes no attempt to engage the river.[3] Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Park, also designed by Surinder Suneja, is on the outskirts of Lucknow along the road to Rae Bareilly. It is a long linear park, running along the Sharada Canal, and covers 220 acres. It has imposing statues of Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, cofounder of Bharatiya Jan Sangh (forerunner of the current ruling party in India, Bharatiya Janata Party) and of Chaudhary Charan Singh, leader of Lok Dal (a regional political party supporting farmers' interests) and a former prime minister of India, thus accommodating leaders of two parties whose ideologies are rooted in cultural nationalism. The park is an eclectic mélange of many features—a rural diorama, two museums dedicated to irrigation and culture, a handicraft plaza, and a 150-foot-tall fountain, claimed to be the tallest in Asia.

While the size and location of many of these memorial parks ensure public visibility and a place in the list of "must-see" sites in the city, they are not true urban civic spaces, where all are welcome and political activities are permissible. In addition to being walled and gated, and patrolled around the clock by security guards, their design (expansive green lawns, fountains, expensive building materials) is suggestive of elitist attitudes toward nature and recreation. There appears to be a mismatch between the ostensibly populist tone of the political rhetoric and the elitist stylized design vocabulary. Their dominance of political symbolism represents a lost opportunity for affirming unique identity of Lucknow as a Nawabi city of gardens in the public park system. The inability of the parks to accommodate anything other than passive recreation and visual contemplation precludes their use as sites of protest, conflict, and dialogue between social groups. As gated enclaves for office workers and middle- and upper-middle-class residents of Lucknow, memorial parks are ideological statements of faith,

occasionally serving the purpose of ritual commemoration, but hardly supportive of new forms of political and social activism.[4]

In contemporary landscape design practice, Mughal gardens inspire mostly theme landscapes. The influence of ancient landscapes is largely in symbolic associations of individual natural elements rather than in spatial composition and formal design. The colonial design typology is taken for granted, rarely examined critically, and employed indiscriminately in private gardens and public parks. Its legacy has proved to be an enduring one, to the detriment of new experimentation and reinterpretation of indigenous landscape traditions. In innumerable municipal and neighborhood parks built across the country since independence, the lawn trimmed with flowerbeds remains the key feature. The generic municipal park is based upon the front lawn blown up to a large scale, to which are added ornamental fountains, playground equipment, and other garden paraphernalia. Although it provides the much-needed greenery in dense urban neighborhoods, it is resource intensive in its upkeep and ignores local ecology.

It will be instructive to look at precedents other than colonial landscape for contemporary park design. Productive landscapes of mango groves and other fruit orchards bring economic benefits to their owners and require few resources for their upkeep. Their garden hydrology offers useful lessons in aesthetic and utilitarian aspects of water management, ways in which water is collected or harvested, distributed for irrigation, defines garden axes, and creates reflective surfaces. The other local precedent is the vernacular landscape of *maidans*, orchards, and *ghats*. Large shade trees and fruit orchards are adapted to the climatic conditions and can be irrigated by traditional methods of harnessing water. As examples of sustainable productive land uses, they are useful models for future park design. The vernacular precedents have proved to be socially and environmentally sustainable in the past, requiring modest investment of resources in their making and very little maintenance. They are suited to the dry hot climate of northern Indian plains in ways that the colonial lawn is not.

Open spaces as sites of active recreation and commerce, working landscapes of orchards and community gardens, and the flexibility of maidans for disparate uses are aspects that could be incorporated in future parks, making them multidimensional vibrant public landscapes. Instead of the gated, monumental

enclave, a park model could be developed that is more inviting, inclusive of all socioeconomic groups, and addresses a gamut of user needs. Indigenous views of nature do not focus solely on its decorative aspect but engage its productive aspect and draw upon its sacred symbolism of trees as house of gods and water as purifying. Sacred trees and medicinal herbs in *ayurvedic* (traditional medicine) gardens could be included in the planting palette. Spaces could be leased out for community gardening and, if the park is large enough, for flower nurseries and fruit orchards.

The park could accommodate not just passive contemplation of manicured nature but also recreation in which the body, not just the eyes, actively engages with the physical environment. Popular sports such as cricket and hockey, and children's running games can find a home in the park instead of in the street. Self-organized group activities such as laughing and yoga clubs, *bhajan* (chanting) and meditation groups, school picnics, and office lunches could be encouraged through provision of appropriately scaled, semienclosed spaces.[5] Food vending occurs inside some parks but more often than not vendors are to be found clogging the park gates. Besides food courts, other small-scale commercial activity can be encouraged by designing plazas where pottery, basket weaving, embroidery, and other handicraft products are made and sold.

Memory work occurs not just through statues and plaques but also through more abstract modes of representation. Public art could free up civic space for a citizen-driven nonpolitical agenda. Literary and artistic figures of the city can be encouraged to contribute to art installations, and open-air concerts can keep musical heritage alive in public parks. The transition toward a noniconographic vocabulary for memorial design can happen only if the person-centric political discourse shifts to that of principles and policies on social welfare with the focus on everyday life. Installations could expand beyond the deified individual to collective symbols creating diverse visual cultures in the public realm.

PART VI

Remembering

Collective memory, constructed with the aid of written records, objects, and commemorative events, is the product of dialogue between myth and history. It binds social groups together and is the source of their identity derived from a common past.[1] Maurice Halbwachs has described it as being socially constructed by groups and dependent on external traces to access the past, in contrast to individual memory grounded in experience.[2] Collective memory grants heroes their immortality while individual memory is subject to forgetting and ultimately their death. Sites of memory emerge when living memories begin to fade and memory traces become their substitute.[3] They are links to the imagined past but not milieus within which remembering occurred unselfconsciously. They reify memory and, as settings for commemorative rituals, are representational spaces where heritage is enacted. Visual culture plays a significant part in the act of commemoration in India not only by capturing the likeness of a historical person through engraving, painting, and other visual displays but also by making these representations the focus of anniversary rituals. Commemoration, or celebration of memory, thus becomes a collective ongoing reenactment of the greatness of leaders in the public realm.

Benedict Anderson describes the nation as an "imagined community" whose sense of identity and solidarity is based upon shared heritage and institutions that reproduce culture such as the newspaper, census, map, and museum.[4] The

past is evoked in external aids or mnemonic devices to serve the purposes of nation-building.[5] Historic monuments and memorial parks have an integral role in creating an imagined community with a collective memory. Memorials are usually case studies in remembering great men by deifying them and erecting their statues, but a few great women have found a place in them as well. Women entered the pages of history in the 1857 uprising and the struggle for an independent India. The two women leaders of the Indian Uprising of 1857, Rani Lakshmi Bai and Begum Hazrat Mahal, are remembered in modern India as heroines who struggled against tremendous odds to fight the British. Rani Lakshmi Bai's legend has grown with time, and that is largely because her collective memory has been constructed through deification, dioramas, and symbolic built forms. The Rani's presence in memorial parks and plazas in many cities in India reflects her significant role in the collective past of the modern nation and ensures that her legend is kept alive, thereby affirming the imagined community of the nation and its shared ideals.

Begum Hazrat Mahal's visual absence in the public realm of Lucknow has eroded her memory. This absence can be explained only partially by Islamic strictures against deification and the practice of *purdah* (veil). Mayawati, three-time chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, on the other hand, has left an indelible imprint on the city's public spaces by building monumental parks, plazas, and buildings that contribute to the national imaginary. The long-suppressed subaltern memory is revived and constructed in statuary (including her own) in memorial parks, affirming the ideals of a secular and democratic nation state where marginalized Dalits (untouchable caste) are considered equal citizens. The absence and presence of the two most important women in the precolonial and postcolonial history of Lucknow indicate the visual cultures that inhabit its past and present.

CHAPTER 16

Hazrat Mahal

Nineteenth-century Lucknow has been well captured in both photographs and paintings of not only its eclectic architecture and pastoral scenes of the Gomti riverfront but also the Nawabs and the Europeans who befriended them. However, missing from this array of images are visual representations of women of the ruling family. The question "Where are the women in Islamic art?" prompts me to look for them not only in period portraiture but also in the ways that women significant in Lucknow's history are remembered a century and half later in public memorials.[1] Although the public spaces of Lucknow are commemorative in their profuse use of statuary and memorial plaques, there is no such space from the Nawabi period (1722–1856) and consequently, no public memorialization of the rulers. However, portraits of all the Nawabs hang in the Hussainabad Art Gallery, and the state museum has a small wing dedicated to Nawabi art.

The Residency Memorial was refurbished to commemorate 150 years since the 1857 uprising, also known as the First War of Independence. In the collection of male figures on display in the Residency Museum, the recently painted portrait of Lucknow's last Nawabi ruler and early champion of the independence movement, a woman, stands out. Reputed to be only portrait of Begum Hazrat Mahal (d. 1879) in existence, it occupied pride of place on the wall. Why are there not more portraits of her? Why is she not to be seen even in the city's central park,

FIGURE 16.1. Portrait of Begum Hazrat Mahal in Residency Museum, Lucknow. Credit: Amita Sinha.

which bears her name? While mimetic representation of women is rare in Islam, occurring only in the book arts that were intended for private viewing, Hazrat Mahal belonged to a larger society that did not refrain from such representation, and had become a revered public figure who, one would expect, would attract the honor of commemoration. How do we reconcile this particular absence with the profuse iconographic imagery prevalent in the larger Indian visual culture? To answer this, we must first ask why it is so important that Hazrat Mahal be memorialized in this fashion in Lucknow's public landscape.

Begum Hazrat Mahal's legacy to Lucknow is amply chronicled in mutiny accounts by the British and numerous articles and books written by Indian authors.[2] Her rise to power may be attributed to the unique set of historical circumstances in 1856–1858 during which the fall of the House of Avadh and the departure of the last Nawab, Wajid Ali Shah, created a vacuum in leadership and a politically volatile situation. Of the six categories of empowerment for women in Islamic societies—financial independence, sons, natal family, celibacy, education, and voice—having a son, the heir to the kingdom, positioned the mother as the regent and wielder of power in the harem and royal court.[3] This was the route to power for Hazrat Mahal, whose twelve-year-old son, Birjis Qadr, was put on the throne of Avadh in the momentous weeks following the uprising of sepoys in the Marion Cantonment on May 1857. As the queen mother and regent, she was the de facto ruler, but since these were no ordinary times, the call to leadership went far beyond the skills needed to govern a pliant court.

Chroniclers of her life agree on her lowly origins, some even calling her a dancing girl for Nawab Wajid Ali Shah and ensconced as a concubine in his Parikhana at Kaiserbagh Palace. He called her his "Mahak Pari" and gave her the title "Hazrat Mahal" when he ascended the throne in 1848. Although they had a son, she did not accompany him in his exile to Matiya Burj in 1856, nor did they correspond after his departure. Rapidly unfolding events during the following year thrust her into a role that grew larger as the months passed. When East India Company annexed the state in 1856, disgruntled *taluqdar*s, *zamindar*s, and sepoys were looking for a figurehead to rally around—which they found in Birjis Qadr and his mother, Hazrat Mahal.[4] In extremis, the extraordinary Hazrat Mahal demonstrated an innate leadership. She governed over a hastily set up administrative structure, coordinated different factions and smoothed

over the developing fissures among them, and sold her personal jewels to pay the sepoys when the treasury became bankrupt. She broke from the practice of *purdah* and often appeared on an elephant in Alam Bagh and Musa Bagh to exhort the demoralized sepoys. Not only was her very right to govern challenged by the British, who questioned her son's legitimacy, she also had to contend with the lack of cooperation by the rival leader Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah, who was emerging as a contrary force.

Although there is no documentation of her early life and of her time as one of the many wives of Wajid Ali Shah, she suddenly enters the pages of history in 1857 with her actions and words amply recorded for posterity. Her voice is heard in her proclamations to the public, her directives to the hastily reconstituted Avadh court and ministers, and missives to the taluqdars.[5] We follow her movement within the city as she left the royal quarters of Kaiserbagh behind, arrived in a procession to the coronation of her son, and visited the troops as they prepared for battle, as well as in her final days and departure from Lucknow when the British defeated the Indian forces and began looting. We can trace her retreat through the principalities of Avadh and her attempts to recoup forces and marshal support in the year that followed until she found a haven in Nepal.[6] We hear conciliatory and admonishing notes in her voice as she pleads for cooperation among warring factions and exhorts the troops to swing into action. Her counterproclamation issued in response to one by Queen Victoria in November 1858 is masterful in its defiance, in its questioning of British promises of amnesty, and its assessment of the causes of war. She questions the British right to govern a land that was not theirs and condemns the disruption of Islamic and Hindu religious mores caused by their rule.

Her unflinching strength in face of opposition, her stubborn refusal to accept the conditions offered by the British and surrender, and her personal courage in the face of mounting adversity when in retreat are heroic by any standards. Pride, fortitude, courage—qualities she seemed to possess in abundance—aided her quest to claim independence for Avadh from the British at a critical juncture in its history. Social and political upheavals during the uprising paved the way for a *purdanashin* (one who practices purdah) lady to find a public voice and claim leadership, but the vision and ability to execute it were uniquely Hazrat Mahal's.

Hazrat Mahal's patronage of the arts in Lucknow is not well documented.

Figure 16.2. Begum Hazrat Mahal Park in Lucknow. Credit: Amita Sinha.

She was responsible for building fortified ramparts around Lucknow in 1857. In Kathmandu, Nepal, where she lived for two decades after her departure from Avadh, she built a mosque (that is no longer standing) and was buried on its premises. Hazrat Mahal's legacy to Lucknow (and Avadh) is monumental, yet there are no monuments to her in the city with the sole exception of Begum Hazrat Mahal Park, which, ironically, contains the memorial to Queen Victoria, her nemesis. It was dedicated to her in 1972, almost a century after her death. Though previously used as grounds for political rallies, it is now a gated pleasure park with tall fountains and an entry fee. I was told that a proposal to install Hazrat Mahal's statue was abandoned in face of opposition from her descendants. Although the iconic Begum's position in the annals of history is assured, the city she ruled has sadly failed to find a way to publicly honor her.[7] Yet commemorative monuments have been erected to celebrate other Indian heroines. For example, every Indian child is aware of the other great Indian protagonist of the mutiny drama, Rani Lakshmi Bai, in part because of her famous statue, riding a horse, with a sword in her upraised arm and her small son strapped to her back, as she bravely fights the British.

CHAPTER 17

Lakshmi Bai

On the 182nd birth anniversary of Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi on November 19, 2017, the local media reported that the memorial park at her birthplace near Assi Ghat in Varanasi lay shrouded in darkness.[1] Celebrations proceeded as planned, however, including *parikrama* by school children and speeches by a politician and a trustee of the memorial committee who demanded an *akhandh jyoti* (eternal light) at the site.[2] These rites imply that the site is sacred and suffused by an immortal spirit that should be symbolized in an undying flame. The Rani appears to have exceeded her role in making history by becoming a legend that shows no signs of being forgotten. In this chapter I examine how the Rani is remembered in sites of her memory, interrogate the conflation of history with legend in the memorial sites, and argue that it is in this synthesis that heritage is manufactured in material objects and spatial practices. The landscapes of memory are markers and makers of her collective remembrance by modern India. They contribute to the national imaginary in representing the constructed past defined by the struggle for freedom from colonial rule.

The Rani of Jhansi was catapulted into history when she became a prominent leader of the 1857 uprising against the East India Company. Born as Manikarnika to Moropant and Bhagirathi Tambe in Varanasi in 1828, she received the name Lakshmi Bai upon her marriage to Gangadhar Rao, the ruler of Jhansi. When he died in 1853 and their adopted son was not allowed to inherit the throne under

Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse, Lakshmi Bai asserted her rights through repeated remonstrations with British officials. As a reluctant rebel leader, she successfully ruled Jhansi for nearly a year in 1857–1858, winning the affection and regard of her subjects, and prepared for battle against the East India Company forces. She held off the British siege before making a daring escape from Jhansi fort and fought valiantly in Koonch and Kalpi before being killed in action near Gwalior on June 17, 1858. Her martyrdom in the battlefield created a heroic legend that served nationalistic goals half a century later and continues to inspire independent India.

The Rani is remembered as a *virangana*, a woman warrior, who was a brave and courageous leader, with remarkable fortitude and perseverance. Her legendary persona, preserved in the collective memory of the nation, is constructed in poems, songs, ballads, feature films, television shows, biographical novels, folk art, paintings, statues, friezes, and dioramas. Her legend had its roots in the folk songs of Bundelkhand and evolved from the vernacular tradition to literary court ballads and historic novels. It was coopted in the nationalist discourse as the freedom movement gathered momentum in the twentieth century and binds the fragmented polity in the postindependence period by portraying the Rani as transcending religious, linguistic, and caste divisions in Indian society. Her living memory was externalized upon her death in first-person accounts in memoirs and travelogues by Indians and Europeans. But it was primarily in the bardic traditions of Bundelkhand that her legend was born. Ballads by Kalyan Singh Kudara, court poet of Datia, and the poet Madnesh, composed in the decade after the uprising, described the siege of Jhansi by Orchha forces and the Rani's life.[3] Folk songs in Bundeli painted vividly in words her dashing image: dressed in military uniform and pearls, riding on horseback, on the Jhansi fort ramparts, and fighting in the ravines and hills of Bundelkhand. The peasants believed that the Rani did not die and still lives hidden in the earth; that she made soldiers of the soil and swords out of wood; and that she picked up mountains and made horses before riding off to Gwalior.[4] Visual memories were collectively shared, reinforced, and transmitted in songs and recitation on festivals and life cycle events. The Rani's image, etched in the collective consciousness of peasants and storytellers, was central to the landscape of memory and was later reified in statuary in keeping with stages in the growth of a legend—from poems, songs, and ballads to the visual arts, statuary, and cinema.[5]

In collective memory, the Rani's character took on a mythic dimension. In colonial memory as constructed in mutiny novels by British writers, she was cruel, treacherous, and licentious, although some saw in her the image of European warrior-maidens such as the fifteenth-century Joan of Arc.[6] Subhadra Kumari Chauhan's poem "Jhansi Ki Rani," written in 1930, portrays the Rani's figure as a symbol of young India fighting for its independence in the uprising. With the "spear, shield, sword, and knife" as her childhood friends, she is equated with the goddess and with the great Maratha warrior Shivaji, invigorating old Bharat (India). With its litany of towns and regions involved in the nationalist struggle, the poem is a "historical and geographical cartography of the nation's past and a complex negotiation between material and ideological representation."[7] The poet describes the story of the Rani as heard from Bundelas and Harbolas, the latter a peripatetic community of Bundelkhand who sang of warriors and their valor.[8] The Rani's figure is seen as an integrating force—she brought together Hindus and Muslims, lower and upper castes, Marathas and Bundelas in fighting her oppressors. The low-caste Harbolas were Rani's spies, penalized by the British for helping her; a close associate of the Rani and her lookalike, Jhalkari, was a low-caste Koli who fought the British as the Rani was making her escape from the Jhansi fort; her best gunmen were Muslims—Ghulam Ghaus Khan and Khuda Baksh; and her remaining followers in the final battle at Gwalior included Gul Muhammad and Nanne Khan. The Rani commanded loyalty well beyond the aristocratic and upper-caste Marathas and therefore serves as an apt symbol of a caste-blind, secular state in the national imagination.

Heroic images of the Rani based upon her personality and deeds form the bedrock of collective memories that were and continue to be represented in external forms in words, pictures, and ritual enactments. As Joyce Lebra-Chapman points out, oral traditions of memory keeping have been more important than written records in the Indian subcontinent and remembering the Rani in this way is no exception.[9] The Rani's legendary feats such as fighting with two swords in her hands while holding the reins of her horse in her mouth, leaping off the walls of the fort, and lighting her own funeral pyre, among others, created a larger-than-life persona. She appeared to be Durga or Chandi, a manifestation of the goddess archetype, vanquishing evil. The Rani is not a goddess but a legendary figure who assumes divine traits to fight for freedom of the nation. The

Rani's identification with the nation is part of gendered ideology in which India is imagined as the bodyscape of Bharat Mata (Mother India), an image that became increasingly popular in the early twentieth-century nationalist struggle. The cartographic map of undivided India and the figure of mother goddess were together presented to the public in print media to reinforce the idea of nation as motherland.[10]

But the Rani is also a historic figure in an important role in nineteenth-century India. As such, she continues to be the subject of scholarly research. Biographical texts and academic journals use archives of East India Company, collected papers and memoirs, and the Rani's own letters to the British. Vishnubhat Godse, a Maharatha Brahmin who was on a pilgrimage to northern India, wrote an eyewitness account in Marathi of the siege and capture of Jhansi and the Rani's life in his memoirs, *Maza Pravaas*, edited and first published in 1907, with the unabridged version finally published in 1966. D. B. Parasnis's 1894 biography of the Rani drew heavily from Godse's account and information given by Damodar Rao, the Rani's adopted son.[11] Vrindavan Lal Verma's historic novel *Jhansi Ki Rani*, written in Hindi in 1946, is an imaginative work based upon memories of his grandfather, a contemporary of the Rani.[12] Mahashweta Devi's 1956 biography of the Rani, in Bengali, used archives as well as ethnographic sources from the Bundelas and the descendants of the Rani's adopted son. Later biographies have sought to give a nuanced picture of the Rani's life by reinterpreting earlier published sources including historic novels by Indians and Europeans.

The dichotomy between myth and history is problematic.[13] The historian is a storyteller, not a mere compiler of facts, and draws upon generic plot structures to create meaning. Historiography of archives on the Rani's life reveals the transition from premodern collective memory to modern historical writing practices.[14] In attempting to sift fact from legend, history narrates the past but lacks the immediacy of cultural memories. In remembering the Rani—in school textbooks, for example—history and legend appear to converge in portraying her as an inspiring figure, with awkward details such as the massacre of sixty Europeans in Jhansi by sepoys during the uprising left out of the narrative.[15] While nineteenth-century European accounts held her responsible for the horrifying event, her twentieth-century biographers agree that she was not directly implicated in their murder.

MEMORIAL PARKS

The Rani is a historic figure in the nation's struggle for freedom, a symbol of women's empowerment, and a legend in the public imagination. The Rani's memory is crystallized in iconographic representations—equestrian statues that capture her virangana persona—and etched reliefs and dioramas, depicting moments in temporal sequence of events in her life. These are examples of narrative folk art, similar to the historic novel in the imaginative re-creation of the Rani's life based on both fact and fiction. Paintings of the Rani on horseback in battle are seen on the walls of houses and temples in Jhansi, Gwalior, Nagpur and smaller towns and villages in Bundelkhand, and in museum galleries, newly furbished to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the uprising in 2007. The statues, etched reliefs, and dioramas, situated in indoor and outdoor sites—memorial parks and plazas, and museums—are memory makers and markers, as are monuments; places where she lived, the fort and her palace in Jhansi; places she built such as the cenotaph of Gangadhar Rao; and places she visited regularly, such as the Lakshmi Temple. The monuments have become her symbols interpreted through the sound-and-light show and stories told by tourist guides. As historic sites preserved by Archaeological Survey of India, they are empty shells of once living sites of habitation, sieges, and battles. The landscapes of memory—memorial parks and monuments—are texts to be read as in between history and myth, combining aspects of both in the stories they tell.

Equestrian statues of the Rani in public parks, street intersections, and museums in places she lived and where she died, are ubiquitous. The statues in the public realm ensure that her virangana persona remains highly visible in sites associated with her life as well as in other urban sites across India. The Rani's arresting statue, mounted on a rearing horse, with a raised sword, is sculpted in bronze or plaster and raised high above the surroundings on a pedestal. In some, her young adopted son, Damodar Rao, is tied to her back, while in others she is alone; other variations include her headdress (turban or helmet) and clothes (pleated sari or *churidar*/pants). The equestrian statue of the virangana expressing *shakti* (power) has become metonymic of the valor and fearlessness of the Rani,


वीरभोग्या वसुन्धरा

so well celebrated in collective memory. It combines her maternal aspect, symbolized by her young adopted son, with the masculine warrior traits exhibited in her posture and gesture (about to strike with the raised sword), and thus has an androgynous quality to it. It speaks to the dual role of the Rani, maternal and martial, striving to protect her son and her subjects in Jhansi, and fighting the evil of British rule.

MONUMENTS

Jhansi and indeed all of Bundelkhand seek fame through the figure of the Rani.[16] She is a source of great pride and her memories are kept alive in poetry, literature, and most visibly in monuments. As Wayne Dynes points out, the word *monument*, derived from the Latin verb *monere*, meant a physical object or written record to remind one of a person, event, or concept, and often the physical and verbal intersect in creating meaning.[17] Monuments in Jhansi are sites of the Rani's memory but in a different way than memorial parks. Unlike the newly built memorial park, they are memory traces of the bygone past, persisting in the present to give spatial context to the recalled events in which the Rani played a central role. The protected monuments—the fort and palace—can be read as symbols of aspects of the Rani's self, reifying what is portrayed in folk songs, court ballads, memoirs, and biographies. The structures remain as material relics of a tumultuous time in Indian history, but it is the Rani's legend that shapes their experience as visible reminders of her enduring legacy. The fort is metonymic of her masculine side—valor, determination, and strength—qualities that came to the fore in extremis in 1857–1858 during the uprising. The palace symbolizes the feminine side of her personality—her benevolent rule over Jhansi, her verbal skills in negotiating with the British, and the part of her daily life devoted to the care of her adopted son and her subjects. The monuments are twin foci of Jhansi's landscape of memory, connected with each other, and to the lake Lachmital, on whose banks are the Mahalaksmi Temple and cenotaph of Gangadhar Rao.

◁ FIGURE 17.1. **Equestrian statue of the Rani in Jhansi. Credit: Amita Sinha.**

FIGURE 17.2. Painting showing the Rani in battle in Jhansi Museum. Credit: Amita Sinha.

History, an objective chronicle of the past, and legend, an embellished story with strong emotional force, overlap and share much in narrating the extraordinary life of the Rani. The sites of memory serve an ideological purpose—the Rani's figure recalls the nation's struggle for independence and her martyrdom signifies the sacrifices made to achieve it. In her virangana posture, she inspires and reaffirms the Bhagwad Gita's central message that fighting evil is a righteous act and a sacred obligation.[18] In her determination to stand up for her rights, in her perseverance to defend her kingdom against all odds, and in her unfaltering courage in the battlefield, she towered above all rebel leaders. Her charismatic leadership in bringing people of different faiths together and the affection and regard she, a Maratha woman, won from the Bundela Rajputs reaffirm the concept of nationhood as a bond that transcends religious and regional loyalties. The ideological construction of her image as an early freedom fighter even before the idea of India as a nation could be clearly articulated rests upon collective memories embodied first in folk songs and court ballads, and then in poetry and literature. Lithographs and paintings portrayed her iconic image, words of poets and novelists celebrated it, and in modern India, comic books, feature films, television series, and statues do the same.

The Rani's legend appears to be growing in contemporary India, as evidenced by the growing number of her statues in memorial parks and urban squares. These reify her collective memory in places, constructing it through iconic images that are archetypal in their source. The iconographic style of placemaking, in which landscape is image, literally and figuratively, reflects the culture's way of remembering. Narrative folk art is the primary means of representing her life and her legendary feats in memorial parks. Historic monuments represent the Rani's memory in a symbolic form—their architecture embodies the masculine and feminine aspects of self that came to the fore when she ruled and defended Jhansi. They give a physical context to her remembered life and actions, narrated by signage, verbal presentations by guides, and the sound-and-light show created for the purpose. An imaginative way of reading them as symbols of self makes the memory traces come alive in the present. Memorial parks and monuments are a landscape of memory constructed through placemaking and reproduced in commemorative events. They reify and rejuvenate her collective memory, instilling pride and affection in succeeding generations of Indians, and drawing

them together into the imagined community of the nation. The idea of a nation needs to be ever affirmed in face of perceived threats to its unity and stability. The Rani's virangana image and landscapes in that image appear to play a vital role in the ongoing process. In remembering Rani Lakshmi Bai this way, death turns into immortality as she lives on in the public imagination, an iconic symbol of struggle that eventually won India its independence.

CHAPTER 18

Mayawati

I am not inventing history; I am only highlighting history that has been consciously suppressed.

—Mayawati

In the state elections in Uttar Pradesh, India, held in early 2012, the Election Commissioner ruled that statues of elephants, symbol of the ruling Bahajun Samaj Party (BSP), and Mayawati, the chief minister, be draped so as to avoid unduly influencing the voters. This unprecedented ruling speaks to the power of images in swaying the masses—not surprising given the dominance and impact of figural imagery in India's visual culture. Statuary has been a significant element in the recently built large urban parks in Lucknow, capital of Uttar Pradesh, India's most populous state. This new urban landscape is an expression of political ideology of BSP seeking to fabricate heritage for the historically disenfranchised Dalit community. The term *dalit* refers to the untouchable castes that have been socially and economically marginalized for a millennium in Indian society. They constitute 22 percent of Uttar Pradesh's population and together with other castes low in social hierarchy termed as "backward," make up a substantial vote bank. BSP provides them with a voice and platform to overturn

centuries of exploitation and repression by the higher castes. With their support BSP has come into power with Mayawati as the chief minister several times.

When first elected to power in 1995, Mayawati immediately began her campaign of building memorial parks and tirelessly pursued it every time she came into power (1997, 2002, and 2007). A teacher by profession, she joined politics in 1984 after meeting Kanshi Ram, founder of the BSP. She rose swiftly through the party ranks and was elected its leader within a decade. Her rapid ascent to power speaks to her political acumen, strong determination, and excellent leadership skills. The party's strongest base is in Uttar Pradesh, where *chamar*s (leatherworkers) form a substantial minority of a group known as "Other Backward Castes" (OBC) and to which Mayawati belongs. A populist by temperament, Mayawati has not hesitated to use every ploy available to promote her party's ideological rhetoric. She has made great efforts to inject into the urban space of Lucknow a memorial culture celebrating successes of social reformers and her own party in improving the condition of Dalits by building parks dedicated to BSP leadership. Perhaps no other Indian leader has so consistently and vociferously promoted her legacy through an aggressive program of statue and monument building as she has, demonstrating a determined personal and political agenda and its ruthless implementation in a surprisingly short amount of time. Her impressive building record has been controversial, as have been her other administrative measures, often making headlines in the media and causing public outrage.

Needless to say, the media has overwhelmingly reacted negatively to the memorial parks, describing the statues as "just one clue as to the extraordinary cult of personality that has grown up around the 'Dalit Queen.'"[1] Columnists and bloggers have called attention to the vast amount of public funds that were spent on questionable projects, comparing "the extravagancy of Ambedkar Sthal a la Taj Mahal appears a mockery of people living in funds-deprived Bundelkhand and Poorvanchal regions of the State."[2] Others have asserted that "her giant parks must rank among the greatest new public spaces created in any Indian city since independence."[3] The memorials are large precincts of buildings, plazas, parks, streetscapes, and assortments of statuary, fountains, gateways, public conveniences and parking lots, named after Dalit leader Bhimrao Ambedkar and BSP founder Kanshi Ram. Their function varies from image gallery (Kanshi Ram Smarak, Prerna Kendra, and Ambedkar Sthal) to museum (Ambedkar Sthal),

library and monastery (Buddha Vihar), and rally grounds (Ramabai Ambedkar Maidan).

Bhimrao Ambedkar authored the Indian constitution, which gives equal rights to all citizens, irrespective or caste or religious affiliation. He was born into a low Hindu caste but converted to Buddhism in protest of Hinduism's caste hierarchy. Buddhist design vocabulary of ancient India has therefore been adopted as the appropriate style for celebrating Dalit heritage, with many architectural details such as stupa, railings, and arches used in profusion in memorial parks. Built of expensive materials such as marble, sandstone, and granite, the structures are expected to last for a "thousand years" on "land banks" on the urban fringe, precluding any other use. They are largely hardscape urban insertions on a gigantic scale and extend into the busy crossroads of the city. Mayawati, in keeping with her persona, has succeeded in making defiant monumental gestures that have irrevocably altered the path of the city's growth pattern.

The memorial parks are designed to extend the collective social memory of the Dalits by enlarging the "specious present"; that is, by bringing the past within the immediate perception.[4] This is also done through aggressive promotion of statue building throughout Uttar Pradesh, thereby enhancing the cult of the *mahapurush* (great person)—charismatic medieval saints, hero-warriors, or social reformers of the last two centuries. This mythologizing of history—medieval saints and social reformers embarking on the quest for social equality and spiritual enlightenment—resonates with the archetypal myth structure of romance.[5] The reconstruction of cultural memory requires the creation of a social milieu within which the glories of the mahapurush can be sung, and the metaphorical return of the hero can be reenacted collectively. In this endeavor the built environment becomes the catalyst for facilitating the specious present, providing the vivid richness of the "here and now" in iconography that instruct and inspire through mimesis. The ensemble of Dalit statuary in Lucknow is part of the monumental complex of buildings, their forecourts, and the urban streetscape. Through its sense of permanence and sheer physical size, the monumental complex fulfills its function of reminding one of the Dalit leader's exalted status in society.[6] Memorial parks create sites of memory—*lieux de mémoire*—that reinforce the Dalit collective self; that is, the capacity to imagine, construct, and inhabit a monumental space.[7]

The making of subaltern memory of a shared glorious past and its representation in elite urban spaces is a very visible act of empowering the community that for centuries had been rendered voiceless and made invisible through erasure from public spaces of urban and rural India. Scholars have predicted that the memorials and statutes will build an "imagined Dalit community," that will transcend religious, caste, and linguistic differences. The arrival of a Dalit presence in urban public spaces from which they had been excluded for centuries is empowering, an "incentive for democratic mobilization," a "remarkable tool for the pedagogy of the oppressed," and a "focal point for ceremonies that build grass roots mobilization skills."[8] The statues of Dalit local heroes, saints, social reformers, Ambedkar, and Buddha are described as creating a new visual and oral sphere of memories that, together with commemorative rituals, are a cultural resource for arousing political consciousness among Dalits.[9] By reclaiming public spaces through Dalit symbols and iconography, Mayawati is not only asserting Dalit identity but also building collective memory, instilling pride in their past, and helping them gain self-respect. She is fabricating heritage by updating the past; that is, "anachronistically reading back from the present qualities we want to see in past icons."[10]

LANDSCAPE OF EMPOWERMENT

Heritage, that which is valued from the past, is, in a sense, manufactured, residing in symbolic capital created through the built environment and thus a form of empowerment of the hitherto powerless Dalit community. Power is communicated through location, visibility, enfilade, architecture, scale, and statuary in five memorials—Kanshi Ram Smarak Sthal and Green (or Eco) Garden, Buddha Vihar Shanti Upavan, Bhimrao Ambedkar Samajik Parivartan Sthal, Ramabai Ambedkar Maidan, and Prerna Kendra—of which two were begun during Mayawati's third term and other three in her fourth term. With the exception of Prerna Kendra, the other four, designed by Jay Kaktikar of Design Associates, a Noida firm, are located at a distance from the city core on the road from the airport and on the banks of the River Gomti where large empty expanses of land were easy to acquire.

Location and Visibility

With the exception of Prerna Kendra, all of the other parks are located away from the urban core and are on the outskirts of the growing city. This ensures availability of vast land acreage, prominent locations along the major urban arteries—Buddha Vihar and Kanshi Ram Smarak on the Airport Road, leading to cantonment and civil lines, Ramabai Ambedkar Maidan on Ring Road, which encircles the city and connects with the state highways, and Ambedkar Sthal, on the banks of the River Gomti on the southeast margin of expanding Lucknow. The large cone of visibility from the major traffic arteries ensured by the absence of high-rise development around the parks means that the building domes dominate the skyline and command attention over long distances. Their dominant verticality denotes symbolic power as do the long horizontal stretches of Buddhist-style railings enclosing vast precincts where no other land use is allowed. Their location, size, and imageability give them a landmark status within the city.

Enfilade

Enfilade, or the linear structure of space, as in a sequential arrangement of spatial segments, offers the potential for a high level of control over movement and social interaction. The degree of accessibility in nested urban precincts and enfilade of rooms in buildings correlates with expression of power.[11] Bill Hillier's analysis of space syntax is useful in understanding the sequence of urban spaces that provide points of potential control over access and plazas at the crossroads.[12] Enfilade is employed deliberately in forecourts in Ambedkar Sthal, Prerna Kendra, Buddha Vihar, and Ramabai Ambedkar Maidan. A series of gateways controls access to the inner court of Ambedkar Udyan, Kanshi Ram Smarak Sthal, and Buddha Vihar, entry to which is possible only by purchasing a ticket. The lack of pedestrian access to memorial precincts from streets with heavy, fast-moving traffic creates a moat-like effect upon crossing in that a series of enclosures have to be penetrated before the memorial building can be entered.[13]

Memorials extend into the main crossroads (*chauraha*) of the city and symbolically appropriate them through statuary in giant plazas. Parivartan Chowk,

north of Kaiserbagh and east of Begum Hazrat Mahal Park, an urban insertion by Mayawati in 1995, received negative publicity because it did not fit in the Kaiserbagh Heritage District. A tall vertical structure holding a globe at its summit and sheltering a seated statue of the Buddha marks the center of a huge plaza that acts as traffic roundabout in the heart of Lucknow. Statues of three nineteenth-century social reformers and of Ambedkar with inscriptions on pedestals mark the cardinal points in the circular plaza where a number of streets converge. This location not only ensures high visibility and landmark status but also marks the arrival of sociopolitical change through BSP leadership in the historic core of Nawabi and colonial times. Monumental plazas such as Bhimrao Ambedkar Chauraha announce entry to the gateway on the Airport Road. Samtamulak Chauraha, at the convergence of five streets, is an ensemble of statues of BSP icons, a symbolic threshold to the kilometer-long spine (part of it a bridge over the River Gomti) punctuated by imposing, handsome gateways. The highly visible statue plazas afford panoramic vistas into the urban landscape of converging streets, access to which can be potentially controlled. More significantly, they assert the symbolic presence and gaze of BSP leaders at the major nodes of the city.

Architecture

Ambedkar's rejection of Hinduism's exploitative and hierarchical caste structure and his conversion to Buddhism is the raison d'*ê*tre for the Buddhist architecture revival in BSP buildings. The neo-Buddhist style is very evident in Sanchi stupa-inspired domes, boundary walls as Buddhist railings, *chaitya* window relief patterns on walls, freestanding square pavilions, and Ashokan pillars. The adoption of the Buddhist mantle comes via New Delhi, where Sir Edward Lutyens and Herbert Baker used a neoclassical imperial style of architecture to legitimize the soon-to-be-waning British Empire. The dome of Rashtrapati Bhavan, designed by Lutyens; double-height façade of Baker's secretariat buildings; and upturned saucers, fountains, and flat sheets of water in tanks have been unambiguously copied in three memorial parks—Ambedkar Udyan, Kanshi Ram Smarak Sthal, and Buddha Vihar. The architecture of imperial Delhi houses government institutions and is literally the seat of legislative and executive power while the sole function of memorial architecture in postcolonial Lucknow appears to be

FIGURE 18.1. Ambedkar Sthal in Lucknow. Credit: Amita Sinha.

reconstruction of collective memory. Buddhist and imperial architectural elements imbue the memorial buildings in Lucknow with borrowed associations of sacred and political power from India's ancient and recent history, thereby legitimizing the empowerment of the Dalit community in the public sphere.

Scale

Although the urban landscape is only a medium for communicating authority and is not inherently powerful or powerless, it can feel coercive in the grandeur of its scale. The extrahuman scale is created spatially and formally though building structures and elements. At large sites—Ambedkar Sthal (107 acres), Kanshi Ram Smarak Sthal (86 acres), Eco Garden (112 acres), Ramabai Ambedkar Maidan (50 acres), and Buddha Vihar (32.5 acres)—are built huge rectangular, long linear plazas; oval and square greens; and a radiating amphitheater. In the vast spatial expanses, there is little to establish human scale and no enclosure except that afforded by a few buildings, separated by large distances. The proximate senses—tactile, olfactory, and haptic—are not stimulated and vision becomes the dominant sense in experiencing the physical environment. The eye travels far along visual axes established by linear elements—columns and rows of stone elephants. The long vistas to buildings and other focal points are impressive in their command of physical space and the sense of power that is communicated in gazing at this landscape.

The extrahuman scale is employed in buildings as well. The domes soar—for example, the height of Kanshi Ram Smarak building dome is 177 feet and it is said to be one of the world's largest. The high building plinth leads to the soaring interiors. The tall bronze fountains (30 feet to 52 feet), 18-foot marble and bronze statues, high gateways and boundary walls, massive elephants, the 71-foot *stambh* (column) in Ambedkar Sthal, and the larger-than-life animals in Eco Garden all dwarf the individual and reinforce the extrahuman scale of the buildings. With the exception of palms, there are few trees to bring down the scale or give enclosure. The building textures and the large paving patterns do not relate to the human body. The consistent use of extrahuman scale in space and building elements results in diminishing the sense of physical self and making the physical environment appear dominant and powerful.

Statuary

Mayawati's memorials have been described as an "architecture of statues."[14] While buildings frame statues in open spaces within the memorial parks and outside at the city crossroads, statues in plazas and lawns become nodes and termini, creating a system of visual and physical axes that structure urban space, and become focal points of vision and movement. The ensemble of four statues facing the four cardinal directions—of Buddha, Ambedkar, Kanshi Ram, and Mayawati—gestures to the concept of *chakravartin*, the world-ruler, whose power radiates out to the horizon. The figures gaze out into the public in a mise-en-scène that lends a theatrical touch to the urban spaces. Iconographic representations of Dalit saints, social reformers, and leaders build symbolic capital embedded in the personal charisma of the mahapurush.

The function of statues goes beyond embellishment of architecture and landscape; they are meant for *darshan* (ritual sighting of the divine in deity, person, or place) and object of felicitation rituals on anniversaries and other occasions. Statues of medieval saint-poets—Kabirdas, Ravidas, Ghasidas—and warriors—Birsa Munda—are visible reminders of greatness achieved in the face of extreme adversity. This deification of great people, deeply rooted in Indic culture, converges with the colonial tradition of erecting statues in parks and urban squares, thereby extending the sacred embodied in mahapurush iconography into civic spaces.[15] Mayawati, however, is celebrating not only social reformers and leaders of her party but her own personality cult as well. Etchings with vignettes of major events in her life (and that of Kanshi Ram and Ambedkar) are found in memorial interiors, supplementing the freestanding statues in a rich visual archive. This self-glorification demonstrates a shrewd grasp of how visual culture can be manipulated to garner support and win allegiance and thus votes in a populist democracy.

With the rise of BSP and Mayawati to power in Uttar Pradesh, statue installation of Ambedkar and other social reformers not only received an impetus but also elevated the folk art into a monument. The little statues of Ambedkar, about fifteen thousand of which were installed in the last two decades in villages, towns, and cities across northern India, has given way to an ensemble of


सामाजिक परिवर्तन
प्रतीक स्थल
माननीय श्री काशीराम जी
सुश्री मायावती जी
सुश्री मायावती जी

marble and bronze statues in memorials and urban crossroads, signaling the transformation of community-based movement to a state-sponsored building enterprise with seemingly endless funds at its disposal.[16] The insertion of statuary and its associated structures into elite urban spaces in the city marks their appropriation and expresses BSP's central agenda of building symbolic capital in the Dalit community.

◁ Figure 18.2. Statues of Mayawati and Kanshi Ram in Ambedkar Sthal, Lucknow. Credit: Amita Sinha.

CONCLUSION

Sustainable Approaches to Heritage Conservation

The Indian subcontinent, in the past century and a half, has witnessed immense social changes, professionalization of design curricula, and consequent loss of faith in the traditional systems of knowledge passed down from one generation to the next. In India, as in other developing countries across the world whose traditional societies are rapidly modernizing and losing their heritage, new models are required to control the pace of their social and environmental changes and provide continuity with the past. Nineteenth-century Eurocentric ideas have continued to influence conservation discourse and practice in postcolonial times. Heritage conservation in South Asia has largely been a state enterprise and has continued the colonial legacy in preserving monumental buildings.[1] The monument in the archaeological park, a product of colonial effort to preserve India's rich heritage, does not capture the breath and vitality of living traditions and landscapes that embody them. The dissonance between colonial and indigenous ways of seeing the past and heritage necessitates going beyond the fenced-off monument.[2] When cultural landscapes are the focus of conservation efforts, integrity of the site is respected, and authenticity of heritage is not diminished.

Modern landscape architecture as practiced in India has largely ignored the role of communities in the making of places, the age-old traditions of interacting with the natural world, and the pressing need for socially and environmentally

sustainable landscapes. In the twenty-first century, landscape architects in India face unprecedented challenges in unplanned urban sprawl, inadequate public parks and greenery, degraded riverfronts, and crumbling urban infrastructure. The greatest of all challenges is how to strengthen a weak public realm for the collective social good. The grand myth of modern design theory is that envisioning the future is always an exercise in radical revision of the past by obliterating all traces of history and creating a bright new world. Yet the truth is that a site can never be a blank slate for building anew; its geological and fluvial histories and extant vegetation regimes give it a unique history. The rupture between past and future, a legacy of modern design, has been especially detrimental for traditional societies who follow the West in their development trajectory.

The current top-down planning model in India, with its focus on urban infrastructural development and its lack of investment in public spaces, has made conservation problematic, elitist, and resource consumptive. New thinking on how top-down and bottom-up approaches can be integrated and a nuanced understanding of links between material and intangible forms of heritage are needed to meet the challenges posed by climate change, lack of resources, and absence of local initiatives. Change should be negotiated through projective design; that is, by envisioning a future that is respectful of the site and its cultural practices. This can be done by shifting the focus to cultural landscapes. "Cultural landscapes often reflect specific techniques of sustainable land-use, considering the characteristics and limits of natural environment they are established in, and a specific spiritual relation to nature. Protection of cultural landscapes can contribute to modern techniques of sustainable land-use and can maintain or enhance natural values in the landscape. The continued existence of traditional forms of land-use supports biological diversity in many regions of the world." As this UNESCO-ICOMOS description of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes promises, cultural landscape conservation can promote sustainability, enhance biodiversity, and foster natural values.[3] Cultural landscapes represent building technologies that would be termed "green" in current thinking, and firsthand knowledge of the lay of the land and its flora and fauna. They hold many lessons for a healthy and balanced relationship with the natural world and its integration into the fast-paced, technology-driven lifestyles of modern societies. Their conservation entails addressing issues holistically in a system-based approach that

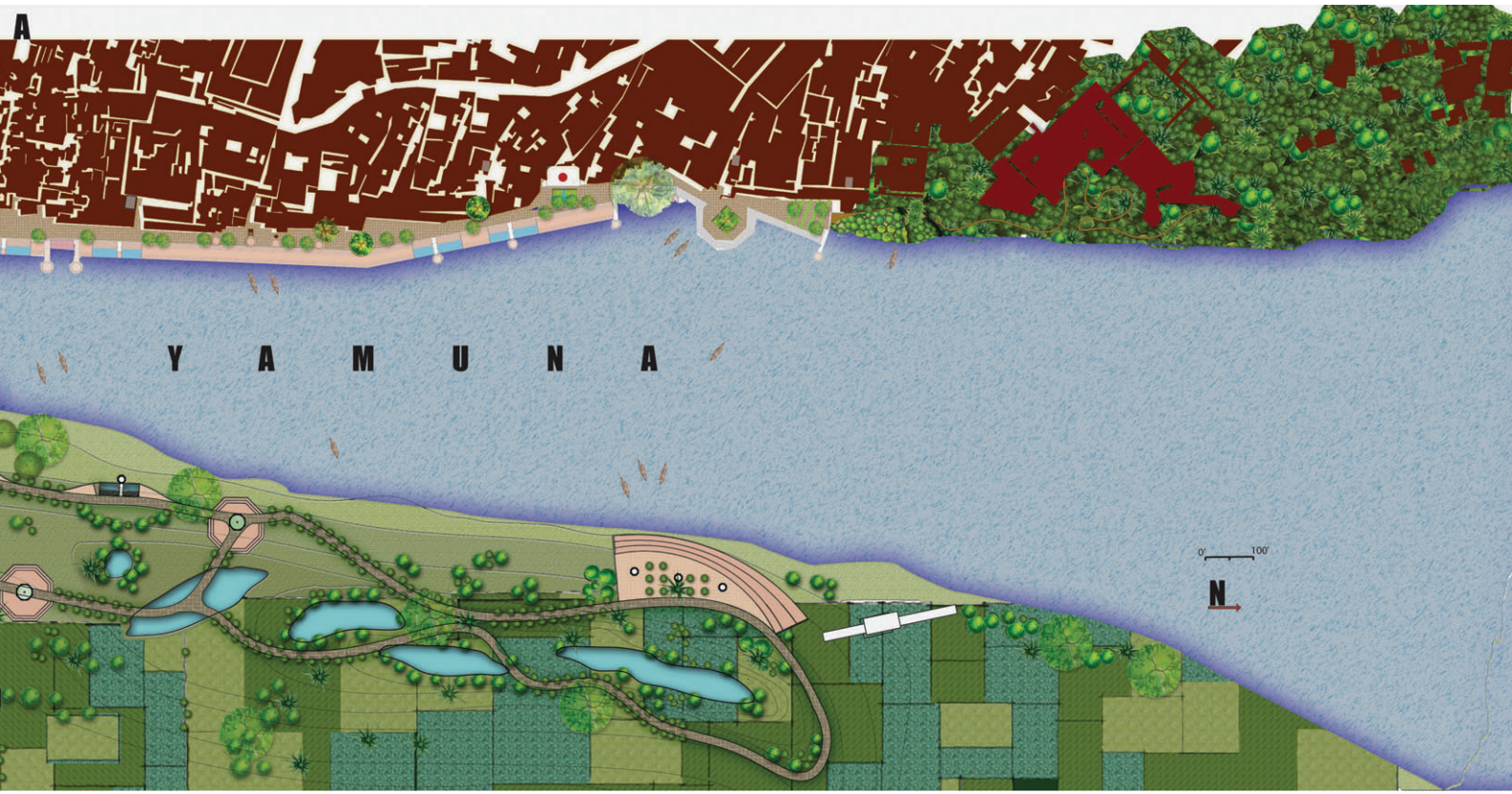
draws upon the collective wisdom of centuries. In systems thinking, landscapes are interconnected webs of spaces, events, and flows of energy, and sustainability is "the quality of not being harmful to the environment or depleting natural resource, and thereby supporting long term ecological balance."[4] The emergence of resilience as a central concept in ecology, landscape, and urbanism holds the key to sustainability.[5] Resilient planning is based upon understanding the complexity of cultural and natural systems and enhancing their capacity to change in response to new conditions while still maintaining their functionality.

Environmental issues in the Indian subcontinent are enormous and require a multidisciplinary framework of the kind that landscape studies offers in order to be successfully addressed. Climate change causing sea-level rise and flooding of rivers, the loss of biodiversity, the reduction of groundwater table, and the rise in environmental pollution affect heritage sites in destructive ways and may cause irreparable damage. New government initiatives on heritage conservation of sacred and historic cities such as HRIDAY and PRASAD focus on developing their infrastructure, not on cultural landscapes integrating tangible and intangible forms of heritage.[6] The engineered infrastructural model for the development of pilgrim sites is geared toward resisting nature, not working with natural systems. It is linear and hierarchical; relies on fossil fuel for its energy sources; pollutes ground, water, and air; and has little capacity to adapt and regenerate on its own. Its ability to recover from extreme events and absorb disturbances without destabilizing is questionable. The path to sustainable conservation lies in approaches that use traditional knowledge and skills. The knowledge base and tools developed in close observation of natural processes and working *with* nature rather than *against* it are heritage, shaped as they are by cultural values and norms that have guided the making of landscapes for centuries.

Riverfront landscapes evolved as complex ecosystems in which culture and nature were in a symbiotic relationship.[7] The intangible heritage of the rivers Ganga, Yamuna, and Gomti is inextricably bound with historic urban settlements on their banks that face rapid urban growth and private encroachments of public spaces. *Ghat*s in pilgrim cities in northern India are usually situated on the west banks of the river with vast expanses of pastoral land on the opposite bank. The floodplains of the concave (western, built edge) and convex edges (unbuilt east bank) are interrelated on the bend of a river.[8] The landscape of the

FIGURE C.1. Yamuna riverfront plan in Mathura. Credit: Annie Varma.

east bank is contingent upon the river flow and its shifting patterns; its convex shape is unstable as the river meanders and streamlines diverge. Protection of their east banks in pilgrim cities such as Varanasi and Mathura can be legally mandated with the designation of a riverfront heritage zone where development is regulated so that the floodplain ecology is not destroyed. The eastern banks of Ganga and Yamuna in Varanasi and Mathura can be reclaimed in the image of archetypal landscape forms—shady groves and picturesque pools—reflecting an environmental aesthetic in which nature and humankind are in harmonious coexistence. Riverfront landscapes will thus continue to "serve as



grand mnemonic device that records and transmits vitals aspects of culture and history."[9]

Pilgrim sites on the coastal edge are vulnerable to the projected sea level rise of one to two meters by 2100 due to global warming.[10] The melting of polar ice caps is predicted to alter the isostatic balance in the earth's crust, resulting in a greater frequency of high-magnitude earthquakes in structurally unstable areas accompanied by rising sea levels. The fluctuation of coastline due to transgression and regression of sea since the last ice age coupled with the history of tectonic activity in the region makes the possibility of sacred sites such as Dwarka being drowned in the sea not entirely improbable. Coastal erosion and salt intrusion disrupt the coastal ecology and the landscape's ability to adapt and

Figure C.2. Taj Mahal heritage corridor. Credit: Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

recover from sudden catastrophes as well as slower, more invidious disturbances caused by climate change.

Infrastructural landscapes based upon softer, looser ecological *systems* instead of fixed engineered structures would perform better and have a greater capacity to adapt and regenerate on coastal areas.[11] Instead of erecting static barriers such as walls and levees in the vertical plane, dynamic infrastructure in the horizontal plane can be planned for.[12] This would be a geomorphic response to sea-level rise in which coastal landforms will be able to shift in response to hydraulic conditions and achieve a dynamic equilibrium. The living coastal infrastructure would respond to higher levels of wave action through migration of landforms; for example, mudflats would migrate landward with an increase in coastal energy levels and be replaced by sand beaches.[13] Since coastal wetlands provide valuable ecological services—flood protection and support of marine life—building upland wetlands would compensate their loss from sea-level rise. More comprehensive measures can be undertaken to address coastal erosion; for example, planting mangroves and floodplain expansion would ensure that streams and creeks continue to flow into the ocean, thus preserving the dynamic estuarine landscape.[14]

Medieval forts, palaces, and gardens were designed with sensitivity to the lay of the land where nature was improved for human habitation and perfected for aesthetic delight. Water symbolism and utility were central to ancient and medieval landscapes. Landscapes continued to evolve around sacred sites of Hinduism centered on bodies of water while the Indo-Islamic garden image dominated the riverfronts of Mughal cities. Traditional knowledge systems and the practice of building with nature were acquired through experience and experimentation and passed down from one generation to the next. The loss of the "water intelligence" of the premodern communities is a loss of cultural memory of working with the land and understanding natural processes. The presence of water indicates a healthy landscape, and a beginning can be made with the restoration of water structures in archaeological and sacred sites. Recovery of traditional knowledge will be an asset in sustainable water management today as India faces an acute reduction in groundwater resource and, linked to that, a loss in biodiversity. Conservation of waterworks can draw upon cultural meanings of water specific to Hindu and Indo-Islamic traditions and phenomenology of water in

FIGURE C.3. **Coastal edge remediation in Dwarka. Credit: Heena Gajjar.**

universal human experience. In its sense of immediacy, ability to invite touch, and capacity to induce reflection, water can become salient in encountering and remembering living sacred sites and spectacular historic monuments.

Sacred sites have been reclaimed time and again, and while their history may not have been written, they embody collective memory in a coded language of place myths. They represent a way of seeing nature and enacting the imagined landscape. They display an environmental ethic rooted in a view of nature as a sentient living entity, and a site of manifestation of the divine. This view finds a parallel in contemporary ecological thinking based upon a biocentric perspective. In this way of seeing, humans are only one element in the interdependent, mutually regulating system in which all entities are connected through the web of life. This holistic understanding of nature resonates with the traditional view opening a space for their amalgamation, and for ethics and science to be in mutual service of each other.

GLOSSARY

aarti	waving of lamps
aditya	sun
agni	fire
akash	ether, sky
akhandh jyoti	eternal flame
antargriha	inner place
apas	fluidity
arama	garden grove
ashram	hermitage
avatar	incarnation
avimukta	never forsaken
ayurvedic	pertaining to traditional healing system
ban yatra	forest journey
bangla	rooftop pavilion originating in Bengal
baoli	stepped well
bhajan	chants of divine glories
bhakti bhav	feeling of devotion
boondh	drop
Brajbhasha	language of the Braj cultural region
bundh	micro-dam
burj	tower
chaach	curd
chabutra	platform
chakravartin	ruler of the world
charbagh	four-square garden
chattri	kiosk
chauraha	crossroads
chavani	military encampment
chini-khana	niches in a garden wall
chitrapat	painted cloth hangings
chowk	public square

dakshinayana	period between autumnal and vernal equinoxes
dalit	untouchable caste
dandauti parikrama	circumambulation with prostrations
darshan	ritual sighting
darwaza	door
dhaam	abode
dharmashala	pilgrim lodge
diya	oil wick in a leaf or clay cup
dronimukha	port at the confluence of river and ocean
Dvapar Yuga	third in the fourfold cycle of epochs
gandh	smell
garh	fort
gaz	31.546 inches
ghat	steps and landings to the water body
garbha griha	womb house
Giriraj	king of hills
gopi	cowherdess
gopuram	gateway
ithihasa	history
jaali	built screen
jal	water
jal durg	island fort
jalashay	water body
janmasthan	place of birth
jauhar	immolation by women and children
jhanki	tableau
jharokha	balcony
jiirnnoddharana	bringing back to life
kala	art form
Kali Yuga	fourth in the fourfold cycle of epochs
kapal kriya	breaking the skull in the cremation ritual
karkhana	workshop
khandar	ruins
kshetra	region
khandar	ruins
kothar	granary
kund	water tank
kunj	bower
lila	deeds

linga	phallus form of Shiva
mahashamshan	great cremation place
mahapurush	great person
mahayuga	great epoch
maidan	community open space
mandapa	pavilion
mandala	sacred form
madrasa	school
math	monastery
maryada purshottam	upholder of moral laws
nagarupvan	public park
nikunj	arbor
paramsayika mandala	nine square mandala with open space in the center
parikrama	circumambulation
pir	holy person
pralaya	apocalypse
prithvi	earth
purdah	veil
pushpa vatika	flower garden
raas lila	dance enacting Krishna's life
Rama lalla vrijman	child Rama seated
Ramjanmabhoomi	land of Ram's birth
Ramlila	re-enactment of Ram's life
rasa	emotion is its essential aspect
rasoi	kitchen
rath yatra	chariot journey
rita	cosmic order
rupa	form
sanjhi	floral art and sand paintings of the Braj region
sarovar	lake
sawan-bhadon	monsoon season
savan jhula	swing festival celebrated during monsoons
shakti	energy associated with the Great Goddess
shilanayas	foundation ritual
shilpa shastras	medieval treatises on arts of building
shrashti	genesis
shringar	erotic sentiment
suryavanshi	descendent of sun god
svarna nagri	golden city

svayambhu	self-manifested
taikhanas	underground rooms
talao	pond
tapovan	forest of penance
tarak mantra	words to the dying by Shiva
tejas	energy
Treta Yuga	second in the fourfold cycle of epochs
upvan	grove
udyan	park
uttarayan	period between vernal and autumnal equinoxes
van	forest
vav	steeped well in Gujarat
vayu	air
viraha	feeling of separation in love
virangana	woman warrior
waju	cleansing ritual in Islam
yantra	sacred diagram of triangles

NOTES

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5. *Chabutra*, meaning "platform," and *rasoi*, meaning "kitchen," are associated with Rama and Sita, respectively.

6. Richard Davis, "The Rise and Fall of a Sacred Space: Ayodhya over Three Decades," in *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies: Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes*, ed. Marc Howard Ross (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 25–44.

7. Bakker, *Ayodhya*.

8. Jain, *Rama and Ayodhya*.

9. The judgment by the Supreme Court of India on Ramjnambhoomi dispute can be accessed at: Supreme Court of India Civil Appellate Jurisdiction, Civil Appeal Nos. 10866–10867 of 2010, *M Siddiq (D) Thr Lrs v. Mahant Suresh Das & Ors*, https://www.sci.gov.in/pdf/JUD_2.pdf.

10. Deepak Mehta, "The Ayodhya Dispute: The Absent Mosque, State of Emergency and the Jural Deity," *Journal of Material Culture* 20, no. 4 (2015): 397–414; Julie Shaw, "Ayodhya's Sacred Landscape: Ritual Memory, Politics and Archaeological 'Fact,'" *Antiquity* 74 (2000): 693–700.

11. Eck, *India*.

12. Farouk-Alli Aslam, "A Qur'anic Perspective and Analysis of the Concept of Sacred Space in Islam," *Journal for the Study of Religion* 15, no. 1 (2002): 63–78.

13. Sarvesh Kumar and Rana P. B. Singh, "Cultural-Heritage Tourism in Ayodhya—Faizabad: Scenario and Prospects," *Geographer* (Aligarh Muslim University) 62, no. 2 (2015): 66–74; Rana P. B. Singh and Sarvesh Kumar, "Ayodhya: The Imageability and Perceptions of Cultural Landscapes," *Space and Culture, India* 5, no. 3 (March 2018): 13–29.

14. Interviews with pilgrims in Ayodhya were carried out with Shubhada Kamalapurkar in October 2018.

Chapter 2: Lost City

The following publication has been excerpted in this chapter: "Dwarka Lost and Reclaimed: Planning for a Resilient Landscape" (coauthored with Heena Gajjar), *Tekton* 3, no. 2 (September 2016): 36–57.

1. The lovable child and adolescent cowherd grew up in the pastoral community of Yadavs in Braj and came of age by killing his evil uncle Kansa in Mathura and restoring the throne to its rightful heir. Krishna and his clan of Yadavas left Mathura upon repeated attacks by Jarasandh, king of Magadha. Krishna established his kingdom in Dwarka where he is worshipped as Dwarkadhish, ruler of Dwarka, and Ranchor, one who left the battlefield. In the epic *Mahabharata* Krishna was the charioteer of Arjun, one of five Pandav brothers in the grand battle between the cousins Pandavs and Kauravs. The dialogue between Krishna and Arjun became *Bhagavad-Gita*, the seminal text of Hinduism in which Krishna is a wise sage and guru enunciating the meaning and purpose of life to Arjun and reveals himself as Brahma, the ultimate transcendent reality. *The Song Celestial; or, Bhagavad-Gita*, trans. Edwin Arnold (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1888).

2. S. R. Rao, "Research on the Historicity of Pilgrim Places: A Study of Dvārakā," in *Pilgrimage Studies: Sacred Places, Sacred Traditions*, ed. D. P. Dubey (Allahabad: Society of Pilgrimage Studies, 1995), 145–55.

3. John Irwin, "The Ancient Pillar-Cult at Prayāga (Allahabad): Its Pre-Aśokan Origins," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1983): 253–80.

4. Dwarka in the west is one of the four char *dhaams* (four abodes or seats in the four cardinal directions) that every Hindu is enjoined to visit once in a lifetime. The clockwise circumambulation by pilgrims of the four dhaams defines the sacred geography of India. Two other dhaams—Puri (east), and Rameshvaram (south)—are also at confluences of river and sea, while Badrinath on the north is on a hilly range rising out of the waters. Surinder Bhardwaj, *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India: A Study in Cultural Geography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973). The fluvial aspect of sacred sites is further reiterated through building of large water tanks within the temple complexes.

5. Eck, *India*.

6. D. Chandrasekharam, "Geo-mythology of India," in *Myth and Geology*, ed. L. Piccardi and W. B. Masse (London: Geological Society, 2007), 29–37.

7. A. Couture, "Dvārakā: The Making of a Sacred Place," in *Pilgrims, Patrons, and Place: Localizing Sanctity in Asian Religions*, ed. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003), 224–48.

8. Heena Gajjar, "Journeys in the Cultural Landscapes of Okhamandal in Gujarat, India: An Ecological Model for Heritage Conservation" (master's thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL, 2016).

9. The island of Bet Dwarka in Okhamandal was inhabited by Late Harappan settlers in the nineteenth to fifteenth centuries BCE as indicated by relics such as a seal engraved with a composite animal (bull, unicorn, and goat) motif, copper fishhook, and two inscribed potsherds. The availability of chank shells in profusion in the Gulf of Kutch meant that Bet Dwarka and Nageshwar became centers for production of a variety of objects—beads, bangles, ladles, spoons, and seals—made with shells. A. S. Gaur, Sundaresh, and V. Patankar, "Ancient Shell Industry at Bet Dwarka Island," *Current Science* 89, no. 6 (September 25, 2005): 941–46. Bet Dwarka had a flourishing overseas trade in the early centuries of the common era, as discoveries of amphora (pottery ware for wine and olive oil used in the Roman Empire) and stone anchors reveal. A. S. Gaur, Sundaresh, and K. H. Vora, *Archaeology of Bet Dwarka Island: An Excavation Report* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International in association with National Institute of Oceanography, Goa, 2005).

10. S. R. Rao, *The Lost City of Dvārakā* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1999).

11. A. S. Gaur, Sundaresh, and K. H. Vora, *Underwater Archaeology of Dwarka and Somnath, 1997–2002* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International in association with National Institute of Oceanography, Goa, 2008).

12. Shikaripur R. Rao, *Marine Archaeology in India* (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 2001).

13. A. S. Gaur, Sundaresh, and Sila Tripati, "An Ancient Harbour at Dwarka: Study Based on the Recent Underwater Explorations," *Current Science* 86, no. 9 (May 10, 2004): 1256–60; A. S. Gaur, Sundaresh, and K. H. Vora, "Shoreline Changes during the Last 2000 Years on the

Saurashtra Coast of India: Study Based on Archaeological Evidences," *Current Science* 92, no. 1 (January 10, 2007): 103–10.

14. The Harappan site of Dholavira in the Rann of Kutch suffered a massive earthquake around 2200 BCE that along with siltation may have caused its demise. C. P. Rajendran, Kusala Rajendran, Kamlesh H. Vora, and A. S. Gaur, "The Odds of a Seismic Source near Dwarka, NW Gujarat: An Evaluation Based on Proxies," *Current Science* 84, no. 5 (2003): 695–701.

15. Archaeologists believe the decline of Harappan societies was caused by climate change. The retraction of Ghaggar-Hakra River, a tributary of Indus, and the weakening of monsoons, for example, led to the demise of settlements on its banks and migration of its population eastward. L. Giosan et al., "Fluvial Landscapes of the Harappan Civilization," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *E 1688-E 1694* 109, no. 26 (2012): 10138–39.

16. Subhadra Sen Gupta, *Chaar Dhaam: A Guide to Hindu Pilgrimages* (New Delhi: Rupa, 2003).

17. Linda Kay Davidson and David Martin Gitlitz, *Pilgrimage: From the Ganges to Graceland: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2002).

18. Representations of space are produced by knowledge systems while representational spaces are symbolic, linked to art and hidden side of social life. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1991).

Part II: Ways of Seeing

The following publication has been excerpted in this chapter: review of *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, ed. Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles, in *Architecture+Design* (India) 26, no. 6 (June 2009): 110–14.

Epigraph: John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972), 9–10.

1. Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

2. D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Making Vision Manifest: Frame,

Screen, and View in Islamic Culture," in *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, ed. Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 131–56.

3. As setting for everyday life and site of memories, the landscape represents social structure and political economy, and epitomizes cultural identity. Denis Cosgrove, "Introduction to Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape," in *Landscape Theory*, ed. Rachael Ziady DeLue and James Elkins (New York: Routledge, 2008), 17–42.

4. John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992): 179–82. The eighteenth-century habits of mind encompassed a shift from seeing ruins as fragments of a whole structure to representing a sense of decay and loss.

5. Curtis Carter, *The Cult of Ruins: Visions of Antiquity in the Eighteenth Century* (Milwaukee: Haggerty Museum Gallery, 1999).

6. Giles Tillotson, *The Artificial Empire: The Indian Landscapes of William Hodges* (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2000).

7. James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1876).

8. Tapti Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

9. Denis Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London: Croom Helm, 1984); Denis Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining, and Representing the World* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008).

10. Richard Lannoy, *The Speaking Tree: A Study of Indian Culture and Society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

11. Jacques Lacan, *Seminar XI: The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1978).

12. The sun temple on the hill slope west of Amber palace built in 954 CE predates the founding of Amber according to *Rajasthan State Gazetteer*, ed. Savitri Gupta (Jaipur: Government of Rajasthan Central Press, 1962).

13. Amita Sinha, *Landscapes of India: Forms and Meanings* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2006).

14. Anne Whiston Spirn points out that the Oxford English Dictionary traces the root of the word *landscape* imported into English in the seventeenth century to the Dutch painting term *landskip*. The Danish *landskab*, German *landschaft*, and Old English *landscipe* describe association between place and people who dwell there; only later did the term come to mean a view. In Rachael Ziady DeLue and James Elkins, eds., *Landscape Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

15. John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 2002).

16. Though a universal biological trait, gaze patterns show many cultural variations. In social behavior, gaze could be affinitive or a threatening signal depending upon the emotional impetus. It is a form of nonverbal communication, decoded along with facial expression, posture, and tone of voice. Michael Argyle and Mark Cook, *Gaze and Mutual Gaze* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Chapter 3: Natural Hierophanies

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter. "Sacred Landscapes of Govardhan in Braj, India: Imagined, Enacted, and Reclaimed," in *Holy Places and Pilgrimages: Essays on India*, ed. Rana P. B. Singh, 149–164 (New Delhi: Shubhi, 2011); "Sacred Landscapes of Govardhan in Braj, India: Imagined, Enacted, and Reclaimed," *Context* 8, no. 1 (2011): 41–50; "Cultural Heritage and Sacred Landscapes of South Asia: Reclamation of Govardhan in Braj, India," in *Asian Heritage Management: Contexts, Concerns, and Prospects*, ed. Kapila D. Silva and Neel Kamal Chapagain, 176–88 (New York: Routledge, 2013); and "The Sacred Landscape of Braj, India: Imagined, Enacted, and Reclaimed," *Landscape Journal* 33, no. 1 (2014): 59–75.

1. Charlotte Vaudeville, "Braj, Lost and Found," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 18, no. 3–4 (1976): 195–213.

2. Behula Shah, "Braj: The Creation of Krishna's Landscape of Power and Pleasure and Its

Sixteenth-Century Construction through the Pilgrimage of the Groves," in *Sacred Gardens and Landscapes: Ritual and Agency*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007), 153–72.

3. A. W. Entwistle, *Braj: Centre of Krishna Pilgrimage* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1987); Paul Michael Toomey, *Food from the Mouth of Krishna: Feasts and Festivities in a North Indian Pilgrimage Centre* (Delhi: Hindustan, 1994); Charlotte Vaudeville, "The Govardhan Myth in Northern India," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 22, no. 1 (1980): 1–45.

4. John Stratton Hawley, *Krishna, the Butter Thief* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983); Enrico Isacco, B. N. Goswamy, and Anna Dahmen-Dallapiccola, eds., *Krishna, The Divine Lover: Myth and Legend through Indian Art* (Bombay: B. I. Publications, 1982); Alan Shapiro, "Sanjhi: A Festival of Vraja," in *Vignettes of Vrindavan*, eds. Anna McDowell and Arvind Sharma (New Delhi: Books and Books, 1987), 80–103.

5. Rājaśekhara dāsa Brahmacārī, *The Color Guide to Govardhana Hill: India's Most Sacred Mountain* (Vrindavan: Vedanta Vision, 1997); Rājaśekhara dāsa Brahmacārī, *The Color Guide to Radha Kunda: The Holiest of all Holy Places* (Vrindavan: Vedanta Vision, 1999).

6. Priyatosh Banerjee, *The Life of Krishna in Art* (New Delhi: National Museum, 1978); Vishwa Chander Ohri and Roy C. Craven Jr., eds., *Painters of the Pahari Schools*, *Mārg* 50, no. 1 (1998): 98–114; Pratapaditya Pal, *Asian Art at the Norton Simon Museum* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press in association with Norton Simon Art Foundation, 2003).

7. Śrī Śrīmad Bhaktivedānta Nārāyana Gosvmī Mahārāja, *Śrī Vraja-maṇḍala Parikramā* (N.p.: Gaudiya Vedanta, 2007); David Haberman, *Journey through the Twelve Forests: An Encounter with Krishna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

8. Amita Sinha, "Govardhan Hill in Braj, India: Imagined, Enacted and Reclaimed," design and planning report submitted to Braj Foundation, India, 2010, https://issuu.com/amitasinha/docs/govardhan_report.

9. Amita Sinha and D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Yamuna Riverfront, India: A Comparative Study of Islamic and Hindu Traditions in Cultural Landscapes," *Landscape Journal* 23, no. 2 (2004): 141–52.

10. David Haberman, *River of Love in an Age of Pollution: The Yamuna River of Northern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 94.

11. Haberman, *River of Love*.

12. M. S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* (New Delhi: National Museum, 1963).

13. John Stratton Hawley, *At Play with Krishna: Pilgrimage Dramas from Brindavan*, in association with Shrivatsa Goswami (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981); John Stratton Hawley, *Krishna, the Butter Thief* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983); Krishnadutt Vajpai, *Mathura* (New Delhi: Macmillan, 1980).

14. Haberman, *River of Love*, 197–218.

15. V. K. Sharma, "Mathura through the Ages," *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* 22, no. 4 (1983): 47–52.

16. Perceived as quintessentially "oriental scenery" they became the subject of paintings by European (and Indian artists) working in the picturesque mode in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Later the camera provided a tool for capturing their picturesque quality. F. S. Growse (1978) first documented the legends associated with the Mathura Ghats in 1893 and noted the architectural features of the temples, fort, mosque, and cenotaphs in gardens lining the riverfront.

17. Annie Varma, "Vishram Ghat, Mathura, India: A Conservation Model for Ghat Restoration in India" (master's thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL, 2011); K. T. Ravindran, *The Ghats of Mathura and Vrindavan: Proposals for Restoration* (New Delhi: Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, 1990).

Chapter 4: Urban Mandala

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter: "The Oracle Landscape of Orchha: Reclaiming the Lost Heritage" (coauthored with Ana Valderrama), *Journal of Cultural Geography* (USA) 31, no. 3, (2014): 304–25; and "Oracle Landscape of Orchha: Reclaiming the Lost Heritage" (coauthored with Ana Valderrama), *Spandrel* (India), no. 7 (2013): 1–12.

1. Susan Walcott, "Mapping from a Different Direction: Mandala as Sacred Spatial Visualization," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 23, no. 2 (2006): 71–88.

2. Gudrun Bühnemann, *Mandalas and Yantras in the Hindu Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

3. Cornelia Dimmitt and J. A. B. van Buitenen, eds., *Classical Hindu Mythology: A Reader in the Sanskrit Puranas* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978).

4. George Michell, ed., *Temple Towns of Tamil Nadu*, *Mārg* 44, no. 3 (1993).

5. D. P. Dubey and Rana P. B. Singh, "Chitrakut: The Frame and Network of the Faithscape and Sacred Geometry of a Hindu Tirtha," in *The Spirit and Power of Place: Human Environment and Sacrality*, ed. Rana P. B. Singh (Varanasi: National Geographic Society of India, 1994), 301–32.

6. Amita Sinha and D. Fairchild Ruggles with Neha Rajora, "Cultural Landscapes of Orchha, India: Reclaiming a Lost Heritage," design proposals and report submitted to Department of Urban Development, Madhya Pradesh, India, 2012, https://issuu.com/amitasinha/docs/orchha_report.

7. The Bundelas ruled for over five hundred years first at Mahoni and then at Garh Kundar before they built Orchha, ushering in an era of consolidation by acquiring new territories, building temples and palaces, and patronizing literary and performing arts. The territory they ruled in central India came to be known as Bundelkhand, with a distinct cultural identity in its language, customs, art, and architecture. Bundelas had a fraught relationship with the reigning Mughals who were their allies and adversaries at different times. The fragmentation of Bundela kingdom into many fiefdoms began after the death of their greatest ruler, Bir Singh Deo.

8. C. E. Luard, *Eastern States (Bundelkhand) Gazetteer*, Central India Gazetteer Series, VI-A (Lucknow, India: Newul Kishore, 1907); N. P. Pandey, *Madhya Pradesh District Gazetteers: Tikamgarh* (Bhopal, India: Gazetteers Unit, Directorate of Rajbhasha Evam Sanskriti, 1995).

9. Hargovind Gupta, *Betwa* (Bhopal, India: M. M. Printers, 1989).

10. P. K. Acharya, *Architecture of Manasara* (1934, reprint, Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2006); Prabhakar Begde, *Forts and Palaces of India* (New Delhi: Sagar, 1982).

11. Rita Sharma and Vijai Sharma, *The Forts of Bundelkhand* (New Delhi: Rupa, 2006).

12. Allison Busch, "Literary Responses to the Mughal Imperium: The Historical Poems of Keśavdās," *South Asia Research* 25, no. 1 (May 2005): 31–54.

13. Radhika Bihari Temple is named after Krishna but that is likely a later appellation. Edward Rothfarb, *Orchha and Beyond: Design at the Court of Raja Bir Singh Dev Bundela* (Mumbai: Mārg, 2012).

14. Giles H. R. Tillotson, "Orchha and Datia: Experiments in Symmetrical Planning," in *The Rajput Palaces: The Development of an Architectural Style, 1450–1750* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 71–87.

15. In the wall murals in Raja Mahal, Jahangir Mahal, Lakshminarayan and Panchmukhi Temples, landscapes were not depicted as views, although the island fort was painted, not quite realistically, showing rooftop pavilions in palaces, enclosed by high citadel walls with bastions and fluted domes, chattris, jharokhas, and palanquin arches of Orchha palaces. Hunting scenes in Raja Mahal Durbar Hall—hunters killing deer and boars, a tiger pouncing on a deer, falcons attacking peacocks, and fighting elephants—allude to the jungles around Orchha. Aruna, *Orchha Paintings* (Delhi: Sharada, 2002); Kalyan Kumar Chakravarty, *Art of India: Orchha* (Bhopal, India: Arnold Heinemann, 1984); Neeta Yadav, *History and Heritage of Orchha, Bundelkhand* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 2012).

Chapter 5: Period Eye

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter: "The Eye Visits" (coauthored with Terence Harkness), *Indian Architect and Builder* 19, no. 1 (July 2006): 95–98; and "Views of Taj: Figure in the Landscape" (coauthored with Terence Harkness), *Landscape Journal* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 198–217.

1. D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Making Vision Manifest: Frame, Screen, and View in Islamic Culture," in *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*, ed. Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 131–56.

2. Wayne Begley, "The Garden of the Taj Mahal: A Case Study of Mughal Architectural Planning and Symbolism," in *Mughal Gardens: Sources, Places, Representations, and Prospects*, ed. James L. Wescoat Jr. and Joachim Wolsche-Bulmahn (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), 213–31.

3. Begley interprets the plan as an allegory for paradise and believes it to be inspired by the cosmological diagram in the thirteenth-century Sufi treatise *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*. The mausoleum was the symbolic throne of God and the raised marble tank was the replica of the celestial tank of abundance where the Prophet Muhammad will stand before God on the Day of Judgment to intercede on behalf of the faithful for their entry into paradise. The inscription on the southern gateway ends with the final words of *Sura* 89 from the Koran—"Enter thou my paradise!"

4. Ron Lane-Smith, *The Taj-Mahal of Agra: Shah Jahan's Vision of Heaven on Earth* (New Delhi: Stonehenge, 1999).

5. Elizabeth Moynihan, "Reflections of Paradise," in *The Moonlight Garden: New Discoveries at the Taj Mahal*, ed. Elizabeth Moynihan (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2000), 15–42.

6. An early eighteenth-century map of Agra in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum in Jaipur, India, shows forty-four gardens adorning both banks of the Yamuna and eyewitness accounts of their existence include descriptions by the Dutch visitor Pelasert, Peter Mundy of the East India Company, the French physician Francois Bernier and the Frenchman Jean de Thevenot, and Abu'l Fazl, Akbar's historian. See Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006) for an exhaustive survey of the historic gardens and their extant remains on Yamuna riverfront.

7. Vincent Bellafiore, Amita Sinha, Terence Harkness, Kenneth McCown, and Brian Orland, "Taj Mahal Cultural Heritage District," design proposals and report submitted to Uttar Pradesh Tourism, India, 2000, https://issuu.com/amitasinha/docs/taj-report.

8. Pratapaditya Pal, ed., *Romance of the Taj Mahal* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1989).

9. Giles Tillotson, *The Artificial Empire: The Indian Landscapes of William Hodges* (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 2000).

10. Natasha Eaton, "Hodges's Visual Genealogy for Colonial India, 1780–95," in *William Hodges, 1744–1797: The Art of Exploration*, ed. Geoff Quilley and John Bonehill (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 35–42; Geoff Quilley, "Hodges and India," in Quilley and Bonehill, *William Hodges, 1744–1797*, 137–86; Beth Fowkes Tobin, "The artist's 'I' in Hodges's travels in India," in Quilley and Bonehill, *William Hodges, 1744–1797*, 43–48.

11. Tillotson, *Artificial Empire*, 100–105, points out that although the English picturesque aesthetic was an instrument in serving colonial agenda, but when applied elsewhere in Europe it did not carry the same connotations as it did in the colonies.

12. George Michell, *Oriental Scenery: Two Hundred Years of India's Artistic and Architectural Heritage* (New Delhi: Timeless Books, 1998).

13. Maria Pelizzari, *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850–1900* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 26.

14. Gary Sampson, "Lala Deen Dayal: Between Two Worlds," in *India through the Lens: Photography, 1840–1911*, ed. Vidya Dehejia (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2000), 259–92.

15. Giles Tillotson, *Taj Mahal* (New Delhi: Penguin Press, 2008), 125–29.

16. Koch, *Complete Taj Mahal*.

17. John Falconer, "The Appeal of the Panorama," in *India through the Lens: Photography, 1840–1911*, ed. Vidya Dehejia (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2000), 35–68.

18. Patrick Bowe, "The Taj Mahal Garden: A Changing Planting Policy," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 27, no. 3 (2007): 229–43.

19. Eugenia Herbert suggests that the childhood landscape of Lord Curzon, Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, England, designed by Robert Adam in the quintessential "Brownian" style of sweeping green expanses of lawn dotted by a few trees here and there, was responsible for his insistence on replacing the colorful, fragrant, and lush gardens with an expanse of greensward. She also makes the point that Curzon and John Marshall of Archaeological Survey of India, by planting lawn and shrubs in the mud-packed forecourt, destroyed the startling contrast between the urban context and the garden (of paradise) that a visitor would have experienced before the early twentieth-century restoration. "The Taj and the Raj: Garden Imperialism in India," *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 25, no. 4 (2005): 250–72.

20. Koch, *Complete Taj Mahal*, 246.

21. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility: Second Version," in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, vol. 3, 1935–1938, trans. E. Jephcott and H. Eiland, ed. H. Eiland and M. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 101–33.

22. John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 2002).

23. In 1994, 2.1 million people visited the Taj Mahal, whereas Itmad-ud-daulah's tomb (on the north bank of the river Yamuna) receive less than 39,000 visitors. Current estimates put the number closer to 3 million. International tourists (10 percent of visitors) are interested primarily on cultural aspects of tourism.

Part III: Enactments

Epigraph: Diana Eck, *India: A Sacred Geography (*New York: Harmony Books, 2012), 6.

1. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 52–65.

2. *Rta Ritu: An Exhibition on Cosmic Order and Cycle of Seasons* (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1996).

Chapter 6: Immersion

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter: "The Enacted Landscape of Varanasi Ghats: Beyond the Picturesque," special issue, "Art in Public Places," *Visual Arts Journal* (India Habitat Center) 12 (April 2013–March 2015): 40–49; and "Death and Life on the Varanasi Ghats," *Tekton* 4, no. 2 (September 2017): 36–53. "Living Ghats of Varanasi," *Context* (India) (2017): 101–10.

1. Diana Eck,"Ganga: The Goddess Ganga in Hindu Sacred Geography," in *An Anthology of Writings on the Ganga: Goddess and River in History, Culture, and Society*, ed. Assa Doron, Richard Barz, and Barbara Nelson (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015), 233–51.

2. Amita Sinha with Heena Gajjar, "Ghats of Varanasi in India: The Cultural Landscape Reclaimed," design report submitted to the Government of India, 2014, https://issuu.com/amitasinha/docs/ghats_of_varanasi_report_small; Amita Sinha with Saloni Chawla, "Envisioning a Resilient Cultural Landscape: Ghats on the Ganga, Varanasi, India," design report submitted to the Government of India, 2016, https://issuu.com/amitasinha/docs/varanasi_ghats_2016.

3. Rana P. B. Singh, "Varanasi Cosmic Order and Cityscape: Sun Images and Shrines," *Architecture+Design*, November–December 1994, 75–79.

4. Diana Eck, *Banaras: City of Light* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1982).

5. James Prinsep and O. P. Kejariwal, *Benares Illustrated* (Varanasi: Pilgrims, 2009).

6. Niels Gutschow, *Benares: The Sacred Landscape of Varanasi* (Stuttgart: Axel Menges, 2006).

7. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

8. Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).

9. A distinction should be made between elemental natural archetypes and form-based archetypes. The latter category includes natural, such as hill-water dyad and trees, and architectural, such as temple, tanks, and ghats that constitute the design language of the built environment in South Asia. Amita Sinha, *Landscapes in India: Forms and Meanings* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2006).

10. Neil Forsyth, "Gaston Bachelard's Theory of the Poetic Imagination: Psychoanalysis to Phenomenology," in *The Quest for Imagination: Essays in Twentieth-Century Aesthetic Criticism*, ed. O. B. Hardison Jr. (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1971), 225–54.

11. Gaston Bachelard, *The Psychoanalysis of Fire*, trans. Alan C. M. Ross (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964); *Water and Dreams: An Essay on the Imagination of Matter*, trans. Edith R. Farrell (Dallas: Dallas Institute of Humanities and Culture, 1999).

12. Gaston Bachelard, *On Poetic Imagination and Reverie: Selections from the Works of Gaston Bachelard*, trans. with an introduction by Colette Gaudin (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971).

13. Singh, "Varanasi Cosmic Order," 75–79.

14. Jonathan Parry, "Death and Cosmogony in Kashi," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 15, nos. 1–2 (1981): 337–65.

15. Eck, *Banaras*.

16. Reena Tiwari, *Space-Body-Ritual: Performativity in the City* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010).

17. Kathleen Higgins, "Refined Emotion in Aesthetic Experience: A Cross-Cultural Comparison," in *Aesthetic Experience*, ed. Richard Shusterman and Adele Tomlin (New York: Routledge, 2008), 106–26.

18. According to Josephine Machon, the Latin root form of "present" implies a state of being or feeling in "being at hand" from *prae*, "before" and *esse*, "be." *Immersive Theatres: Intimacy and Immediacy in Contemporary Performance* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 44.

19. Machon, *Immersive Theatres*, 104.

20. Harry Francis Mallgrave, "'Know Thyself': Or What Designers Can Learn from the Contemporary Biological Sciences," in *Mind in Architecture: Neuroscience, Embodiment, and the Future of Design*, ed. Sarah Robinson and Juhani Pallasmaa (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015), 9–32.

Chapter 7: Circumambulation

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter: "Rockfort Temple at Tiruchirapalli, India: Conservation of a Sacred Landscape" (coauthored with Aparna Raghunathan), *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (UK) vol. 12, no. 5 (June 2006): 489–504; "Sacred Landscapes of Govardhan in Braj, India: Imagined, Enacted, and Reclaimed," in *Holy Places and Pilgrimages: Essays on India*, ed. Rana P. B. Singh, 149–64 (New Delhi: Shubhi, 2011); "Sacred Landscapes of Govardhan in Braj, India: Imagined, Enacted, and Reclaimed," *Context* 8, no. 1 (2011): 41–50; "Cultural Heritage and Sacred Landscapes of South Asia: Reclamation of Govardhan in Braj, India," in *Asian Heritage Management: Contexts, Concerns, and Prospects*, ed. Kapila D. Silva and Neel Kamal Chapagain, 176–88 (New York: Routledge, 2013); and "The Sacred Landscape of Braj, India: Imagined, Enacted, and Reclaimed," *Landscape Journal* 33, no. 1 (2014): 59–75.

1. Diana Eck, *India: A Sacred Geography* (New York: Harmony Books, 2012).

2. David Haberman, *Journey through the Twelve Forests: An Encounter with Krishna* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Behula Shah, "Braj: The Creation of Krishna's Landscape of Power and Pleasure and Its Sixteenth-Century Construction through the Pilgrimage of the Groves," in *Sacred Gardens and Landscapes: Ritual and Agency*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007), 153–72.

3. Amita Sinha, ""Govardhan Hill in Braj, India: Imagined, Enacted and Reclaimed," design report submitted to Braj Foundation, India, 2010, https: //issuu.com/amitasinha/docs/govardhan_report.

4. Among them some advance by doing 108 ritual prostrations at one spot using the stones of Govardhan for counting.

5. Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), 6.

6. Heinrich Hermann, "On the Transcendent in Landscapes of Contemplation," in *Contemporary Landscapes of Contemplation*, ed. Rebecca Krinke (New York: Routledge, 2005), 36–72.

7. Donlyn Lyndon, "The Place of Memory," in *Spatial Recall: Memory in Architecture and Landscape*, ed. Marc Treib (New York: Routledge, 2009), 64.

8. Saloni Chawla, "Walking the Faithscapes of Varanasi, India: Pilgrimage of the Panchkroshi Yatra" (master's thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL, 2018).

9. Mimi Lobell, *Spatial Archetypes: The Hidden Patterns of Psyche and Civilization* (N.p.: JXJ, 2018.)

10. Jan Pieper, "A Pilgrims' Map of Benares: Notes on Codification in Hindu Cartography," *GeoJournal* 3, no. 2 (1979): 215–18.

11. Denis Cosgrove, "Liminal Geometry and Elemental Landscape: Construction and Representation," in *Recovering Landscape: Essays in Contemporary Landscape Architecture*, ed. James Corner (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), 106.

12. Lobell, *Spatial Archetypes*.

13. Gutschow, *Benares*.

14. Hans Bakker, "Construction and Reconstruction of Sacred Space in Varanasi," *Numen* 43, no. 1 (1996): 32–55.

15. George Michell, ed., *Eternal Kaveri: Historical Sites along South India's Greatest River*, *Mārg* 51, no. 1 (1999).

16. Dennis Hudson, "Kanchipuram," *Temple Towns of Tamil Nadu*, ed. George Michell, *Mārg* 44, no. 3 (1993): 18–39.

17. Vivek Nanda, "Temple City of Kumbakonam," in *Eternal Kaveri: Historical Sites along South India's Greatest River*, ed. George Michell, *Mārg* 51, no. 1 (1999): 107–22.

18. Françoise L'Hernault, "Tiruvannamalai," *Temple Towns of Tamil Nadu*, ed. George Michell, *Mārg* 44, no. 3 (1993): 40–57.

19. David Smith, "Chidambaram," *Temple Towns of Tamil Nadu*, ed. George Michell, *Mārg* 44, no. 3 (1993): 58–75.

20. Michell, *Hindu Temple*, 68–72.

21. Other lingas are of earth (Ekambareswarar Temple in Kanchipuram), water (Jambukeswarar Temple in Tiruchirappalli), air (Kalahasti Temple in Srikalahasti), and ether (Nataraja Temple in Chidambaram). Eck, *India*, 253–56.

22. The streets in the temple towns built by the Cholas in the Kaveri delta served as processional paths of temple deities on the royal festival occasions. Hans-Jurgen Nitz, "Planned Temple Towns and Brahmin Villages as Spatial Expressions of the Ritual Politics of Medieval Kingdoms in South India," in *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on the Meanings of Some Places in the Past*, ed. Alan Baker and Gideon Biger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 107–24.

23. George Michell, "Introduction," *Temple Towns of Tamil Nadu*, ed. George Michell, *Mārg* 44, no. 3 (1993): 2–17.

Part IV: Nature Improved

1. Prabhakar Begde, *Forts and Palaces of India* (New Delhi: Sagar, 1982).

2. Kulbhushan Jain and Minakshi Jain, *Indian City in the Arid West* (Ahmedabad: AADI Centre, 1994).

3. Prabhakar Begde, *Forts and Palaces of India* (New Delhi: Sagar, 1982), traces fort planning and architecture in the epics *Puranas* and *Shilpa Shastras* in part I, and in part II covers forts regionally, in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Deccan and South India. Begde.

4. G. H. R. Tillotson's comprehensive study *The Rajput Palaces: The Development of an Architectural Style, 1450–1750* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987) fails to explore the role of landscape in development of the palace complex beyond the cursory mention of "the *garh* palace" wherein the fortified palace is contained within a fortress or guarded by a separate fort.

5. *The Forts of India*, by Virginia Fass, with text by Rita Sharma, Vijay Sharma, and Christopher Tadgell, (New Delhi: Rupa, 1986), is an interesting account of forty forts (including British forts) through the length and breadth of the country. Anecdotal text accompanies Fass's superb photography. See Sidney Toy, *The Strongholds of India* (London: William Heinemann, 1957), for a more descriptive account of fort architecture.

6. The Deccan forts, many built by Shivaji himself, enabled the Marathas to mount significant resistance to the Mughals and have been described as the "cradle of liberty" by Ramesh Desai in *Shivaji: The Last Great Fort Architect* (Mumbai: Maharashtra Information Centre, 1987). Located on the flat-topped summits of natural scarps rising precipitously above the surrounding heavily forested slopes, they appeared inaccessible. For a description of forts on the Aravalli hills see L. P. Mathur, *Forts and Strongholds of Rajasthan* (New Delhi: Inter-India, 1989). The forts of Chittorgarh, Ranthambor, Kumbalgarh, Bhainsrorgarh, and Mandalgarh situated on hilltops and surrounded by either rivers or dense forests were raided first by the Sultans of Delhi and then Akbar. As repositories of memories of protracted sieges and incredible Rajput valor they have a special place in medieval history. For a comprehensive account of hill forts in Vindhyan and Satpura ranges in central India—Gwalior, Mandu, Chanderi, Ajaigarh, Asirgarh, and Raisen—see A. P. Singh, *Forts and Fortifications in India: With Special Reference to Central India* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1987).

Chapter 8: Pavagadh Hill

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter: "Forts on a Sacred Hill: Champaner-Pavagadh, Gujarat, India," *Architecture+Design* (India) vol. 24, no. 8 (August 2007): 128–34; "Forts on a Sacred Hill: Champaner-Pavagadh, Gujarat, India," *Marg* 59, no. 4 (June 2008): 60–73; "Forts on a Sacred Hill: Champaner-Pavagadh, Gujarat, India," *Orientations* 39, no. 7 (October 2008): 61–68; "Urban Design as a Frame for Site Readings of Heritage Landscape of Champaner-Pavagadh, India" (coauthored with Yuthika Sharma), *Journal of The Indian Institute of Architects* 71, no. 7 (July 2006): 45–48; and "Urban Design as a Frame for Site Readings of Heritage Landscapes: A Case Study of Champaner-Pavagadh, Gujarat, India" (coauthored with Yuthika Sharma), *Journal of Urban Design* 14, no. 2 (May 2009): 203–21.

1. Christopher Tadgell, "The Fort in India: Seat and Sanctuary," *RIBA Journal* (March 1989): 54–58, has an overview of the key features of forts in India, and changes brought by the introduction of artillery.

2. Edward Clive Bayley, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians: The Local Muhammadan Dynasties, Gujarat* (London: W. H. Allen, 1886) and Māṇekshāh Sorābshāh Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat: Including a Survey of Its Chief Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions*, vol. 1, *AD 1297–AD 1573* (London: Longman, Green, 1938).

3. There is a parallel here with Devagiri/Daulatabad in the Deccan. Like the Pavagadh forts, Devagiri (Hill of the gods) was first a Buddhist monastic settlement and then the capital of Hindu Yadavas who lost their kingdom to Qutb-ud-din Khilji, the Sultan of Delhi. In 1327 Muhammad Shah Tuhgluq decided to move from Delhi to Devagiri, which he renamed as Daulatabad. Although as the capital it had a much shorter existence than Champaner of Mahmud Begarha, it too was besieged and conquered by the Mughals. The hill fort was protected by three concentric fortified walls and a fourth wall enclosed the town below. Stephen Markel, "Once the Capital of India: The Great Fort of Daulatabad," *Orientations* 25 (February 1994): 47–52.

4. J. W. Watson, "Historical Sketch of the Hill Fortress of Pawagadh in Gujarat," *Indian Antiquary* 6 (1877): 1–9.

5. Detailed mapping of fort structures and water architecture is included in cooperative projects by the Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Heritage Trust, Baroda, India. Amita Sinha and Gary Kesler, *Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park*, *Gujarat*, *India*, 2002, https://issuu.com/amitasinha/docs/chamapner-pavagadh_8e1776e4517f31; Amita Sinha, Gary Kesler, D. Fairchild Ruggles, and James Wescoat Jr., *Champaner-Pavagadh Cultural Sanctuary*, *Gujarat*, *India*, 2003, https://issuu.com/amitasinha/docs/champaner-pavagah; Amita Sinha, D. Fairchild Ruggles, and James WescoatJr., *Panch Yatras in the Cultural Heritage Landscape of Champaner-Pavagadh*, *Gujarat*, *India*, 2005, https://issuu.com/amitasinha/docs/champaner-report.

6. Amita Sinha, "Cultural Landscape of Pavagadh: The Abode of Mother Goddess Kalika," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 23, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2006): 89–103.

7. Sumesh Modi, "Water-Intelligent City: Champaner-Pavagadh," in *Landscapes of Water: History*, *Innovation and Sustainable Design*, ed. Umberto Fratino (Bari: Uniongrafica Corcelli Editrice, 2002), 103–10; D. Fairchild Ruggles and Amita Sinha, "Preserving the Cultural Landscape Heritage of Champaner-Pavagadh, Gujarat, India," in *Intangible Heritage Embodied*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles and Helaine Silverman (New York: Springer, 2009), 79–100.

8. Amita Sinha, "Nature in Hindu Art, Architecture and Landscape," *Landscape Research* 20, no. 1 (1995): 3–10.

9. Sinha, "Cultural Landscape of Pavagadh."

10. Amita Sinha, "Forts on a Sacred Hill: Champaner-Pavagadh, Gujarat, India," *Mārg* 59, no. 4 (2008): 60–73.

11. Alpa Nawre, "'Talaab' in India: Multifunctional Landscapes as Laminates," *Landscape Journal* 32, no. 2 (2013): 137–50.

12. Sinha, "Forts."

13. Morna Livingston, *Steps to Water: The Ancient Stepwells of India* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002).

14. Amita Sinha, Gary Kesler, D. Fairchild Ruggles, and James Wescoat Jr., "Champaner-Pavagadh, Gujarat, India: Challenges and Responses in Cultural Heritage Planning and Design," *Tourism Recreation Research* 29, no. 3 (2004): 75–78.

15. David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Chapter 9: Kalikho Hills

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter: "Conserving Cultural Landscape: Amber, Rajasthan" (coauthored with Neha Rajora) *Architecture+Design* 31, no. 7 (July 2014): 104–15; and "Gaze and the Picturesque Landscape of Amber, India" (coauthored with Neha Rajora), *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes: An International Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (October–December 2014): 309–22.

1. The Kachhawas (also *Kachchwahas*) trace their descent from Kush, son of Lord Ram, and claim solar dynasty. Originally from Narwar, near Gwalior, they migrated to this part of Rajasthan, known as Dhoondhar, in 967 CE and established their capital at Dausa. Rima Hooja and Rakesh Hooja, "Kachchwahas of Amber: From Dulha Rai to the Founding of Jaipur," in *Princely Terrain: Amber, Jaipur, and Shekhawati*, ed. Shikha Jain (Gurgaon, India: Shubhi, 2005), 48–77.

2. Amber predates the Kachhawa rulers—Kakil Dev captured Amber from Mina tribesmen in 1037, laid the foundation of the fortification system, and built the Ambikeshwar Mahadev Temple. When his great-grandson Rajdev shifted the capital from Khoh to Amber, the settlement began to grow. Amber Palace was substantially enlarged by Man Singh in 1600 with additions by Jai Singh I and Sawai Jai Singh II until the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Rakesh Hooja and Rima Hooja, "Amber: The Erstwhile Capital of the Kachchwaha Rajputs," in Jain, *Princely Terrain*, 30–47.

3. R. S. Khangarot and P. S. Nathawat, *Jaigarh: The Invincible Fort of Amber* (Jaipur: RBSA, 1990).

4. Khangarot and Nathawat, *Jaigarh*.

5. The sun temple on the hill slope west of Amber Palace, built in 954, predates the founding of Amber, according to *Rajasthan State Gazetteer*.

6. The Kachhawa rulers were coroneted in the temple of Narsingh (an incarnation of Vishnu) located in an old *haveli* (mansion) northwest of the palace, and in proximity to the famed Jagat Shiromani Temple, housing a statue of the medieval poet-saint Meera.

7. Shikha Jain analyzes the significance of sacred visuality in Jaipur's urban structure—its center near the Talkatora Lake was aligned with Ganesh Garh, built on hill to the north, and the sun temple on the eastern hill was visible from its east-west axis built on the ridge. Shikha Jain, "Jaipur Jigsaw: The Process of a Planning Renaissance," in Jain, *Princely Terrain*, 88–161.

8. Lakes with pavilions were an important feature in the larger landscape; for example, Jal Mahal, or water palace, in the midst of Mansagar Lake, was built by Sawai Jai Singh, around 1734 on the road to Jaipur from Amber. Pleasure resorts in lakes were an established Rajput tradition dating back to Padmini's Palace in Chittor, originally built in the 1300s, and the later Jag Mandir and Jag Niwas in Udaipur. Vibhuti Sachdev and Giles Tillotson, *Building Jaipur: The Making of an Indian City* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004).

9. Khangarot and Nathawat, *Jaigarh*.

10. Mayank Kumar, "Ecology and Traditional Systems of Water Management: Revisiting Medieval Rajasthan," in *Environmental Issues in India: A Reader*, ed. Mahesh Rangarajan (Delhi: Pearson Longman, 2006), 70–96, ProQuest Ebrary.

11. Khangarot and Nathawat, *Jaigarh*.

12. V. N. Bahadur, "Baolis: Stepwells of Dhoondhar," in Jain, *Princely Terrain*, 79–87. Baolis in Amber are square (with a well in the center) or rectangular (with well at the end). Their depth ranges from thirty to a hundred feet below ground.

13. D. Fairchild Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

14. The influence of Mughal gardens in Kashmir can be seen in the Rajput *charbagh* garden

on the edge of a water body. Susan Johnson-Roehr speculates that Jai Niwas Bagh, on the edge of Tal Katora Tank, was the module in the planning of Jaipur city—the combined length of the garden and the tank was the unit for the square sectors. Susan Johnson-Roehr, "Centering the *Chārbāgh*: The Mughal Garden as Design Module for the Jaipur City Plan," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 72, no. 1 (March 2013): 28–47.

15. Giles Tillotson, *Jaipur Nama: Tales from the Pink City* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2006).

16. Elena Karatchkova, "Ghost Towns and Bustling Cities: Constructing a Master Narrative in Nineteenth-Century Jaipur," in *Raj Rhapsodies: Tourism, Heritage and the Seduction of History*, ed. Carol Henderson and Maxine Weisgrau (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 27–46.

17. Barbara N. Ramusack, "The Indian Princes as Fantasy: Palace Hotels, Palace Museums, and Palace on Wheels," in *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*, ed. Carol A. Breckenridge (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 66–89.

18. Giles H. R. Tillotson, *The Rajput Palaces: The Development of an Architectural Style, 1450–1750* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 206.

19. Carol Henderson, "Virtual Rajasthan: Making Heritage, Marketing Cyberorientalism?" in *Raj Rhapsodies: Tourism, Heritage and the Seduction of History*, ed. Carol E. Henderson and Maxine Weisgrau (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 61–84.

20. The design proposals for heritage trails are developed in Neha Rajora's unpublished master of landscape architecture thesis, "Vision, Movement, and Landscape Experience in Princely Town Amber, India" (master's thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL, 2013, https://issuu.com/amitasinha/docs/amber_report.

Chapter 10: Delhi Ridge

The following publication has been excerpted in this chapter: "The Case of the Vanishing Ridge in Delhi, India: A Conservation Approach" (coauthored with Sarmistha Mandal), *Architecture+Design* 25, no. 5 (May 2008): 124–30.

1. Prabha Chopra, ed., *Delhi Gazetteer*, Delhi Gazetteer Unit, Delhi Administration, (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1976).

2. Narayani Gupta, "Introduction to *Delhi: A Historical Sketch*," in *The Delhi Omnibus* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), ix–xvi.

3. Kalpavriksh, *The Delhi Ridge Forest: Decline and Conservation* (New Delhi: Kalpavriksh, 1991).

4. The writings have been compiled in an anthology H. K. Kaul, *Historic Delhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985). Excerpts are taken from Ibn Batutta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: The University Press, 1971); Ziau-d Din Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, and Timur, *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, in *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, ed. H. M. Elliot and John Dowson (London: Trübner, 1869).

5. R. E. Frykenburg, "The Study of Delhi: An Historical Introduction," in *Delhi through the Ages: Selected Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, ed. R. E. Frykenburg, in *The Delhi Omnibus* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1–18.

6. A. K. Narain, "On the Proto-History of Delhi and its Environs," in *Delhi through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, ed. R. E. Frykenburg (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986), 3–17; Perceival Spear, "Delhi: A Historical Sketch," in Frykenburg, *Delhi Omnibus*, 4–6.

7. Perceival Spear, "The Delhi Sultanate in Delhi: A Historical Sketch," in Frykenburg, *Delhi Omnibus*, 7–20; M. Athar Ali, "Capital of the Sultans: Delhi during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Delhi through the Ages*, 21–31.

8. James Wescoat Jr., "Barapula Nallah and Its Tributaries: Watershed Architecture in Sultanate and Mughal Delhi," in *Water Design: Environment and Histories*, ed. Jutta Jain-Neubauer (Mumbai: Mārg, 2016), 84–95.

9. Ravindra Kumar, "Irrigation Technology in Medieval India," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 50 (1989): 850–54.

10. Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie Shokoohy, *Tughluqabad: A Paradigm for Indo-Islamic Urban Planning and Its Architectural Components* (London: Araxus Books, 2007).

11. Sidney Toy, *The Strongholds of India* (London: William Heinemann, 1957).

12. Alexander Cunningham, "Four Reports Made during the Years 1862–63–64–65," in *Archaeological Survey of India* (Simla: Government Central Press, 1871).

13. H. C. Fanshawe, *Delhi: Past and Present* (London: John Murray, 1902); Fergusson, *History*; H. G. Keene, *Delhi* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1876; reprint, New Delhi: M. N., 1987).

14. Sarmistha Mandal, "Conservation Plan for South Ridge, New Delhi, India" (master's thesis, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL, 2008).

15. Shokoohy and Shokoohy, *Tughluqabad*.

16. Manu Bhatnagar, "Revival of Hauz Khas Lake, A Historic Lake in Urban Delhi," in *Proceedings of Taal 2007: The 12th World Lake Conference*, ed. M. Sengupta and R. Dalwani, 1477–87, http://www.moef.nic.in/sites/default/files/nlcp/P%20-%20World%20Case%20Studies/P-21.pdf.

Part V: Nature Perfected

1. John Prest, *The Garden of Eden: The Botanic Garden and the Re-Creation of Paradise* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981).

Chapter 11: Tapovan

1. Priyaleen Singh, Vatikas of Lore, *The Hindu*, June 4, 2000, https://www.thehindu.com/folio/fo0006/00060160.htm.

2. Amita Sinha, "The Cosmic Tree in Buddhist Landscapes," in *Landscapes in India: Forms and Meanings* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2006; reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2011), 99–114.

3. Richard Schechner, "Rasaesthetics," in *The Senses in Performance*, ed. Sally Banes and André Lepecki (New York: Routledge, 2007), 10–28.

4. Vidya Dehejia, "India's Visual Narratives: The Dominance of Space over Time," in *Paradigms*

of Indian Architecture: Space and Time in Representation and Time, ed. G. H. R. Tillotson (London: Curzon, 1998), 80–106.

5. The earliest illustrated *Ramayana* manuscripts were produced in the Mughal Emperor Akbar's court in 1588 and 1605. Hindu courts in Rajasthan and Punjab Hills also commissioned artists to produce *Ramayana* miniatures, most notably Jagat Singh of Mewar. The seven books of Valmiki's *Ramayana* were completed between 1649 and 1653 and were painted by three painters, among them the famous artist Sahib-din. Vidya Dehejia, "Rama: Hero and Avatar," in *The Legend of Rama: Artistic Visions*, ed. Vidya Dehejia, *Mārg* 45, no. 3 (1994): 1–14.

6. Aranya Kanda, the third book on the forest exile in *Ramayana*, was painted by the artist Godhu for Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra around 1785. The Chamba and Guler-Kangra *Ramayana* series depicted hermitages in forest clearings on hills with a river flowing diagonally in picture frame. Vishwa Chander Ohri, "Nikka and Ranjha at the Court of Raj Singh of Chamba," in *Painters of the Pahari Schools*, ed. Vishwa Chander Ohri and Roy C. Craven Jr., *Mārg* 50, no. 1 (1998): 98–114. The artist Laharu's *Ramayana* paintings of Chamba court, 1760–1765, show lush green landscapes of riverbanks and hilly mounds. Eberhard Fischer, "Laharu and Mahesh: Two Master Painters of Chamba," in Ohri and Craven, *Painters of the Pahari Schools*, 28–45.

7. Jeremiah P. Losty, "Sahib Din's Book of Battles: Rana Jagat Singh's Yuddhakanda," in Dehejia, *Legend of Rama*, 101–16.

8. Amita Sinha, "Nature in Ramayana," in *Landscapes in India: Forms and Meanings* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2006; reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2011), 55–72.

9. Clare Cooper Marcus, "The Garden as Metaphor," in *The Meaning of Gardens*, eds. Mark Francis and Randolph T. Hester Jr. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 26–33.

Chapter 12: Indo-Islamic Garden

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter: "The Gomti Riverfront in Lucknow, India: Revitalization of a Cultural Heritage Landscape" (coauthored with Swati Nagpal), *Architecture+Design* 25, no. 6 (June 2008): 58–66; "The Gomti Riverfront in Lucknow, India: Revitalization of a Cultural Heritage Landscape" (coauthored with Swati Nagpal), *Journal of Urban Design* 14, no. 4 (November 2009): 489–506; "Claude Martin and the Gomti Riverfront," *Architecture+Design* 30, no. 4, (April 2013): 98–103; "Restoration of the Gomti Riverfront in Lucknow: Claude Martin's Legacy," *Marg* 65, no. 3 (March 2014): 78–87; and review of *Tradition and Innovation in French Garden Art: Chapters of a New History*, ed. John Dixon Hunt and Michel Conan with the assistance of Claire Goldstein (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), in *Architecture+Design* (India) vol. 23, no. 1 (January 2006): 98–101.

1. John Brookes, *Gardens of Paradise: The History and Design of the Great Islamic Gardens* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1987); Sylvia Crowe and Sheila Haywood, *The Gardens of Mughal India* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972); Jonas Lehrman, *Earthly Paradise: Garden and Courtyard in Islam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Elizabeth Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden: In Persian and Mughal India* (New York: George Braziller, 1979).

2. James Wescoat, "Landscapes of Conquest and Transformation: Lessons from the Earliest Mughal Gardens in India, 1526–1530," *Landscape Journal* 10, no. 2 (Fall 1991): 105–14.

3. Saeeda Rasool and Amita Sinha, "Transformations in the Cultural Landscape of Lahore, Pakistan," *Geographical Review of India* 57, no. 3 (1995): 212–22; Saifur Rahman Dar, *Historical Gardens of Lahore* (Lahore: Aziz, 1982); Sajjad Kauser, Michael Brand, and James Wescoat, *Shalamar Garden, Lahore: Landscape, Form and Meaning* (Karachi: Department of Archaeology and Museums, Pakistan Ministry of Culture, 1990).

4. John Renard, *Islam and the Heroic Image: Themes in Literature and the Visual Arts* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992).

5. Ebba Koch, "The Mughal Waterfront Garden," in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 140–60.

6. Banmali Tandan, *The Architecture of Lucknow and its Dependencies, 1722–1856: A Descriptive Inventory and an Analysis of Nawabi Types* (New Delhi: Vikas, 2001); Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, the British, and the City of Lucknow* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985).

7. Farhat Baksh, designed by Claude Martin, was built one-fifth into the Gomti River, and other two buildings of Chattar Manzil complex responded directly to the river. The two lower floors of Farhat Baksh were built like grottoes similar to *taikhana*s (underground rooms) and *baoli*s (stepwells). The upper floors were reminiscent of the Mughal pavilions on the Yamuna River where panoramic views and cool breezes were enjoyed. Sophie Gordon, "The Royal Palaces," in *Lucknow: City of Illusion*, ed. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones (New York: Prestel, 2006), 31–88.

8. Amita Sinha, "Decadence, Mourning and Revolution—Facets of the Nineteenth-Century Landscape of Lucknow, India," *Landscape Research* 21, no. 2 (1996): 123–36.

9. Neeta Das, "The 'Country Houses' of Lucknow," in *Lucknow: City of Illusion*, ed. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones (New York: Prestel, 2006), 166–91.

10. Michael Fisher, "Awadh and the English East India Company," in *Lucknow: Memories of a City*, ed. Violette Graff (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997).

11. Barowen is ingeniously designed—the handsome European-looking three-storied riverfront façade led to the building interior built into an artificial hill. The large sunken courtyard surrounded by small rooms and verandahs at the two-storied back of the house was cooled by the earth around the structure and the front by river breezes. The sunny front portion of the house was inhabited in the winter while the rear part was a summer residence. No descent was required into the sunken courtyard—the floor in the house was the same level throughout. Kiosks with spiral steps at the far rear corners of the building led to a large *charbagh* garden outside, recalling Mughal gardens on the leeward side of the raised riverfront terraces with airy pavilions on the Yamuna. The large requirements of the royal household, as at other country houses, were met not in horizontal arrangement of spaces but in vertical stacking of rooms. Das, "Country Houses."

12. Constantia too had subterranean rooms, in one of which lies Martin's tomb, continuing the great tomb-building traditions of Muslim rulers in the Indian subcontinent. Like the wells

in the basement of the Taj Mahal sunk into the Yamuna bed to protect the mausoleum from flooding, Constantia's four circular wells were dug six meters below the water level for drainage and culminated in octagonal towers at the top of the building. Pottery ducts set into their walls drew in hot air and released it through eight roof funnels. Brian Ford and Mark Hewitt, "Cooling without Air Conditioning—Lessons from India," *Architectural Research Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (Summer 1996): 60–69; Nita David, "La Martiniere: An Enlightened Vision," in *Lucknow: City of Illusion*, ed. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones (New York: Prestel, 2006), 221–47.

Chapter 13: Colonial Garden

1. By analyzing Samuel Bourne's photographs of Barrackpore Park, near Calcutta, Sampson interprets it as an exercise in taming and "feminization" of wilderness of the native landscape, through expansive lawns, framing of views through foliage, and winding pathways. The hybrid character of the colonial park was evident in planting of local flora and its exclusionary aspect highlighted in the presence of Indians as gardeners or coolies only. The Englishwoman in the garden was a perfect symbol for the domestication of wild nature. Gary D. Sampson, "Unmasking the Colonial Picturesque: Samuel Bourne's Photographs of Barrackpore Park," in *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*, ed. Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson (London: Routledge, 2002), 84–106.

2. Anthony King, *Colonial Urban Development—Culture, Social Power, and Environment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976).

3. Charles Carlton and Caroline Carlton, "Gardens of the Raj," *History Today* 46, no. 7 (1996): 22–28; Judith Roberts, "English Gardens in India," *Garden History* 26, no. 2 (1998): 115–35.

4. Veena T. Oldenburg, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow, 1856–1877* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).

5. Narayani Gupta, "India and the European Cultural Inheritance: The Victoria Memorial Hall," *The Victoria Memorial Hall—Calcutta*, ed. Philippa Vaughan, *Mārg* 49, no. 2 (1997): 37–47; Mary Ann Steggles, "The Myth of the Monuments: Public Commemorative Statues," in *Architectural Styles in British India: 1837–1910*, ed. C. London, *Mārg* 46, no. 1 (1994–95): 67–84.

6. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, "The Residency and the River," in *Lucknow: City of Illusion*, ed. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones (New York: Prestel, 2006), 193–220; Llewellyn-Jones, *The Great Uprising in India, 1857–58: Untold Stories, Indian and British* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007).

7. The Archaeological Survey of India was created in 1861 by the British colonial administration to "explore, excavate, conserve, preserve and protect the monuments and sites of national and international importance." Upon India's independence from colonial rule in 1947 it continued functioning as part of the Indian administrative bureaucracy. It maintains 3,650 monuments and archaeological sites and remains under the provisions of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act 1958. The Lucknow Residency was brought under the protection of ASI in 1920 and site was maintained in more or less the same condition as a memorial park created by the colonial government after the Mutiny.

8. Kevin Hannam, "Contested Representations of War and Heritage at the Residency, Lucknow, India," *International Journal of Tourism Research* 8, no. 3 (2006): 199–212.

9. Other sites include the Memorial Church and Garden and Satichaura Ghat in Kanpur, the Mutiny Memorial on Northern Ridge, Nicholoson's Cemetery and Kashmiri Gate in Delhi, the Mutiny Memorial in Jhansi, and Cantonments in Barrackpore and Meerut. Many of the sites are cemetery parks with plaques and occasionally statuary.

Chapter 14: Garden City

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter: "Planning an Ideal Steel City in India: Jamshedpur" (coauthored with Jatinder Singh), *Architecture+Design* (India) 28, no. 1 (January 2011): 106–17; and "Jamshedpur: Planning an Ideal Steel City in India" (coauthored with Jatinder Singh), *Journal of Planning History* 10, no. 4, (2011): 263–81.

1. Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, ed. F. J. Osborn (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965).

2. Rudrangshu Mukherjee, *A Century of Trust: The Story of Tata Steel* (New Delhi: Portfolio by Penguin Books India, 2008), 60.

3. Jamshedji Tata was an industrial entrepreneur who invested in modern technology and welfare programs in worker education and health in setting up cotton mills in Ahmedabad, Nagpur, and Kurla. His extraordinary efforts to build an industrial plant to produce iron and steel at the turn of the last century when India was totally depended upon foreign imports have been chronicled in his biographies and those of Tata Steel. F. R. Harris, *Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata: A Chronicle of His Life*, 2nd ed. (Bombay: Blackie and Son, 1958).

4. F. C. Temple, *Report on Town Planning* (Bombay: Commercial Press, 1919).

5. Otto Koenigsberger, *Jamshedpur Development Plan*, ed. and with a foreword by J. R. D. Tata, prepared for the Tata Iron and Steel Co., 1945.

6. Ward describes the new town as an "international variant built on the conceptual foundation of the garden city." New towns derived from the garden city were established in remote settings in different parts of the world to encourage new resource-based industries. Stephen Ward, ed., *The Garden City: Past, Present, and Future* (London: E and FN Spon, 1992), 24.

7. Robert Young, "Green Cities and the Urban Future," in *From Garden City to Green City: The Legacy of Ebenezer Howard*, eds. Kermit Parsons and David Schuyler (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 201–11.

8. JUSCO plans to increase the green cover of Jamshedpur from 21 percent to 33 percent by 2025.

Chapter 15: Municipal Park

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter: "Memorial Parks in Lucknow, India," *Spandrel: Journal of School of Planning and Architecture* 1, no. 1 (2010): 71–82; "Memorial Parks in Lucknow," *Marg* 63, no. 1 (September 2011): 36–49; and "Colonial and Post-colonial Memorial Parks in Lucknow, India: Shifting Ideologies and Changing Aesthetics," *Journal of Landscape Architecture* (Autumn 2010): 60–71.

1. A similar process of park building symbolic of nationalistic identity contained in the personhood of leaders can be seen in India's capital New Delhi. Yuthika Sharma, "The New Memorial Landscape: Significance of Raj Ghat in Post-Independence Delhi," *Journal of Landscape Architecture*, 9 (Spring 2004): 19–21.

2. The political landscape of Uttar Pradesh is dominated by parties competing for caste votes and driven by ideologies rooted in class conflict. In the last sixty years of its existence as the largest state of independent India, it has seen the emergence of new political parties such as Bahujan Samaj Party, Samajwadi Party, Bharatiya Janata Party, and Lok Dal, in addition to the Indian National Congress that had ruled for the nation and the state in its early years. While the Bahujan Samaj Party represents the interests of the Dalits (untouchable castes; the word from Marathi language means "suppressed"), Samajwadi Party and Lok Dal count upon the other lower and backward castes for their political support. Bharatiya Janata Party represents the interests of the higher castes and has a strong Hindu nationalist agenda, while the Indian National Congress aims to be all encompassing, representing the interests of everyone including the Muslim minority.

3. Rajat Kant, "Baghs to Socialist Ideology: Janenshwar Mishra Park, Lucknow," *Journal of Landscape Architecture* 53 (2017): 71–75.

4. This is a pan-Indian phenomenon, as Janaki Nair shows in her analysis of Cubbon Park in Bangalore. "Past Perfect: Architecture and Public Life in Bangalore," *Journal of Asian Studies* 61, no. 4 (2002): 1205–36.

5. Amita Sinha, "Reinventing People's Place," *Architecture+Design*, September 2005, 54–58.

Part VI: Remembering

1. Ross Poole, "Memory, History and the Claims of the Past," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 2 (2008): 149–66.

2. Nicolas Russell, "Collective Memory before and after Halbwachs," *French Review* 79, no. 4 (2006): 792–804.

3. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire," in "Memory and Counter-Memory," special issue, *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24.

4. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

5. David Lowenthal, "Fabricating Heritage," *History and Memory* 10, no. 1 (1988): 5–24.

Chapter 16: Hazrat Mahal

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter: "City of Nawabs to City of Elephants: Urban Transformation of Lucknow" (coauthored with Rajat Kant), *Journal of Landscape Architecture* (India) 68, no. 37 (2013): 68–76; "Memorial Parks to Begum Hazrat Mahal and Mayawati in Lucknow, India," in *Woman's Eye, Woman's Hand: Making Art and Architecture in Modern India*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles, 92–113 (New Delhi: Zubaan Books, 2014); "Mayawati

and Memorial Parks in Lucknow, India: Landscapes of Empowerment" (coauthored with Rajat Kant), *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes: An International Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (2015): 43–58; and "City of Nawabs to City of Elephants: Urban Transformation in Lucknow, India"(coauthored with Rajat Kant), in *Values in Landscape Architecture and Environmental Design: Finding Center in Theory and Practice*, ed. M. Elen Deming, 174–97 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015).

1. D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Vision and Power: An Introduction," in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 1–16.

2. Kenizé Mourad, *In the City of Gold and Silver*, trans. Anne Mathai and Marie-Louise Naville (New York: Europa Editions, 2014) is a historical novel based on the life of Hazrat Mahal; Ashok Kumar Sharma, *Begum Hazrat Mahal* (N.p.: GenNext, 2015) in Hindi; K. S. Santha, *Begums of Awadh* (Varanasi: Bharati Prakashan, 1980). Mohi-ud-Din Mirza made a documentary, "*Begum Hazrat Mahal: The Last Queen of Avadh*" in 2011. *Begum Hazrat Mahal: The Last Queen of Avadh*, dir. Mohi-ud-Din Mirza (Films Division, 2011).

3. Ruggles, "Vision and Power."

4. *Taluqdar*s were landholders who collected revenues from their large estates and possessed the status of minor royalty. *Zamindar*s also collected revenue although their landholdings were smaller. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, "Portraits of the Nawabs: Images from the Lucknow Court 1775–1856," *Mārg* 59, no. 4 (2008): 26–39.

5. Pramod K. Nayar, *The Great Uprising: India, 1857* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2007), 176–77; P. J. O. Taylor, *A Star Shall Fall: India 1857* (New Delhi: Indus, 1993), 213–24.

6. Nusrat Naaheed, *Jane Alam Aur Mehak Pari*, trans. J. Bhattii (Lucknow: Library Helpage Society, 2005).

7. The Government of India issued a commemorative stamp on May 10, 1984, in honor of Begum Hazrat Mahal and a national scholarship is offered in her name by Maulana Azad Foundation in the Ministry of Minority Affairs, Government of India, since 2003–2004.

Chapter 17: Lakshmi Bai

1. "Birth memorial of Rani Laxmi Bai lies neglected on her birth anniversary," *New Indian Express*, November 19, 2017, http://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2017/nov/19/birth-memorial-of-rani-laxmi-bai-lies-neglected-on-her-birth-anniversary-1705244.html.

2. Binay Singh, "Varanasi Celebrates Birth Anniversary of Jhansi ki Rani Laxmi Bai," *Times of India*, October, 18, 2017, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/varanasi/varanasi-celebrates-birth-anniversary-of-jhansi-ki-rani-laxmi-bai/articleshow/61134213.cms.

3. Joyce Lebra-Chapman, *The Rani of Jhansi: A Study in Female Heroism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986).

4. Mahāśvetā Debī, *The Queen of Jhansi*, trans. Mandira Sengupta and Sagaree Sengupta (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2000), xiv.

5. Lebra-Chapman, *Rani of Jhansi*.

6. Indrani Sen, "Inscribing the Rani of Jhansi in Colonial 'Mutiny' Fiction," *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 12, 2007, 1754–61.

7. Harleen Singh, *The Rani of Jhansi: Gender, History, and Fable in India* (Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 105.

8. Vibha Chauhan, "Lakshmibai and Jhalkaribai: Women Heroes and Contesting Caste and Gender Paradigms and Histories," *South Asian Review* 37, no. 2 (2017): 81–96. The immensely popular poem has become part of oral folk tradition and was performed by the classical singer Shubha Mugdal in the Indian parliament on May 10, 2007, to mark the sesquicentennial celebration of 1857.

9. Lebra-Chapman, *Rani of Jhansi*.

10. Sumathi Ramaswamy, "Maps and Mother Goddesses in Modern India," *Imago Mundi* 53, no. 1 (2001): 97–114.

11. Prachi Deshpande, "The Making of an Indian Nationalist Archive, Lakshmibai, Jhansi, and 1857," *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 3 (2008): 855–79.

12. Vrindavan Lal Verma, *Jhansi Ki Rani* (Delhi: Prabhat Prakashan, 2016).

13. Hayden White, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 81–100.

14. Deshpande, "Making of an Indian Nationalist Archive."

15. Victoria Lundin, "Daughter of Kashi—Queen of Jhansi: The Use of History of an Indian Queen—The Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi from the Time of Independence until Today," (master's thesis, Karlstad University, Karlstad, Sweden, 2015).

16. Tapti Roy, *Raj of the Rani* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2006).

17. Wayne Dynes, "Monument: The Word," in *"Remove Not the Ancient Landmark": Public Monuments and Moral Values*, ed. Donald Martin Reynolds (New York: Routledge, 2013), 27–31.

18. Rainer Jerosch, *The Rani of Jhansi: Rebel Against Will* (Delhi: Aakar Books, 2007).

Chapter 18: Mayawati

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter: "City of Nawabs to City of Elephants: Urban Transformation of Lucknow" (coauthored with Rajat Kant), *Landscape: Journal of Landscape Architecture* (India) 68, no. 37 (2013): 68–76; "Memorial Parks to Begum Hazrat Mahal and Mayawati in Lucknow, India," in *Woman's Eye, Woman's Hand: Making Art and Architecture in Modern India*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles, 92–113 (New Delhi: Zubaan Books, 2014); "Mayawati and Memorial Parks in Lucknow, India: Landscapes of Empowerment" (coauthored with Rajat Kant), *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes: An International Quarterly* 35, no. 1 (2015): 43–58; and "City of Nawabs to City of Elephants: Urban Transformation in Lucknow, India" (coauthored with Rajat Kant), in *Values in Landscape Architecture and Environmental Design: Finding Center in Theory and Practice*, ed. M. Elen Deming, 174–97 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015).

Epigraph: Mayawati in an interview to *India Today*, August 11, 1997, 33.

1. *Hindustan Times*, March 14, 2012.

2. *Economic Times*, March 6, 2008.

3. S. A. Aiyar, "Behenji's Raj: Mayawati, the Lutyens of Lucknow," *The Times of India*, February 26, 2012, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/Swaminomics/behenji-s-raj-mayawati-the-lutyens-of-lucknow/.

4. Carl Becker, "Everyman His Own Historian," *American Historical Review* 37, no. 2 (1932): 221–36.

5. Hayden White, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 81–100.

6. Wayne Dynes, "Monument: The Word," in *"Remove Not the Ancient Landmark": Public Monuments and Moral Values*, ed. Donald Martin Reynolds (New York: Routledge, 1996), 27–31.

7. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire," in "Memory and Counter-Memory," special issue, *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24; Murray Schane, "The Psychology of Public Monuments," in Reynolds, *"Remove Not the Ancient Landmark"*, 47–52.

8. Nicholas Jaoul, "Learning the Use of Symbolic Means: Dalits, Ambedkar Statues and the State in Uttar Pradesh," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 40, no. 2 (2006): 175–207.

9. Badri Narayan, *The Making of the Dalit Public in North India: Uttar Pradesh 1950–Present* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011).

10. David Lowenthal, "Fabricating Heritage," *History and Memory* 10, no. 1 (1988): 5–24.

11. Kim Dovey, *Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form* (London: Routledge, 1999).

12. Bill Hillier, *Space is the Machine: A Configurational Theory of Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

13. The citadel look is a common device in the layout of twentieth-century national capitals as in parliamentary complex designed by Geoffrey Bawa in Colombo, Sri Lanka and the Capitol Complex by Louis Kahn in Dacca, Bangladesh. Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

14. Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*.

15. The lifelike representations lend the famous name a vivid image, in keeping with the dual significance of name (*naam*) and image (*roop*) in Indic religious thought and political discourse. Iconographic representations provide a visual object for veneration and ritual commemoration. Richard Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

16. Jaoul, "Learning."

Conclusion: Sustainable Approaches to Heritage Conservation

The following publications have been excerpted in this chapter: "Conservation of Historic Water Systems in Champaner-Pavgadh, Gujarat, India," *Landscape Research* 44, no. 5 (2019): 588–99; and "Dwarka Lost and Reclaimed: Planning for a Resilient Landscape" (coauthored with Heena Gajjar), *Tekton* 3, no. 2 (September 2016): 36–57.

1. Amita Sinha, "Introduction," in *Cultural Landscapes of South Asia: Studies in Heritage Conservation and Management*, ed. Kapila D. Silva and Amita Sinha (New York: Routledge, 2017), 1–10.

2. Sinha, "Introduction."

3. UNESCO, "History and Terminology of Cultural Landscapes," accessed June 18, 2020, https://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/.

4. Dictionary.com, s.v. "sustainability," https://www.dictionary.com/browse/sustainability.

5. Nina-Marie Lister, "Is Landscape Ecology?" in *Is Landscape . . . ? Essays on the Identity of Landscape*, ed. Gareth Doherty and Charles Waldheim (New York: Routledge, 2016), 115–37; Brian Walker and David Salt, *Resilience Thinking: Sustaining Ecosystems and People in a Changing World* (Washington, DC: Island, 2006).

6. HRIDAY (Heritage city development and augmentation yojana) scheme is for heritage cities and comes under the Ministry of Urban Development, while PRASAD (National mission on pilgrimage rejuvenation and spiritual augmentation drive) is focused on pilgrim cities and implemented by the Ministry of Tourism. Varanasi is covered by both schemes.

7. P. S. Ramakrishnan, "The Sacred Ganga River-Based Cultural Landscape," *Museum International* 55, no. 2 (2003): 7–16.

8. U. K. Choudhary, K. N. Singh, A. K. Sinha, and D. Mohan, "Interrelationship between the Floodplains of Convex and Concave Banks of a River," in *Proceedings: RIVERTECH 96: First International Conference on New/Emerging Concepts for Rivers, Chicago, September 22–26, 1996*, ed. W. H. C. Maxwell (Urbana, IL: International Water Resources Association, 1996), 846–52.

9. Marc Treib, "Yes, Now I Remember: An Introduction," in *Spatial Recall: Memory in Architecture and Landscape*, ed. Marc Treib (New York: Routledge, 2009), v–xv, xii.

10. "Flooded Future: Global vulnerability to sea level rise worse than previously Understood," Report by Climate Central, https://www.climatecentral.org/pdfs/2019CoastalDEMReport.pdf.

11. Pierre Bélanger, "Is Landscape Infrastructure?" in *Is Landscape . . . ? Essays on the Identity of Landscape*, ed. Gareth Doherty and Charles Waldheim (New York: Routledge, 2016), 190–227.

12. Kristina Hill and Jonathan Barnett, "Design for Rising Sea Levels," *Harvard Design Magazine* 27, Fall/Winter 2007, http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/27/design-for-rising-sea-levels.

13. Stephen Crooks, "The Effect of Sea-Level Rise on Coastal Geomorphology," *Ibis* 146, suppl. 1 (2004): 18–20.

14. Frederic Rossano, "From Absolute Protection to Controlled Disaster: New Perspectives on Flood Management in Times of Climate Change," *Journal of Landscape Architecture* 10, no. 1 (2015): 16–25.

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